A MEMOIR OF

RICHARD GREEN MOULTON, LL.D., PH.D.

By

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, M.A.

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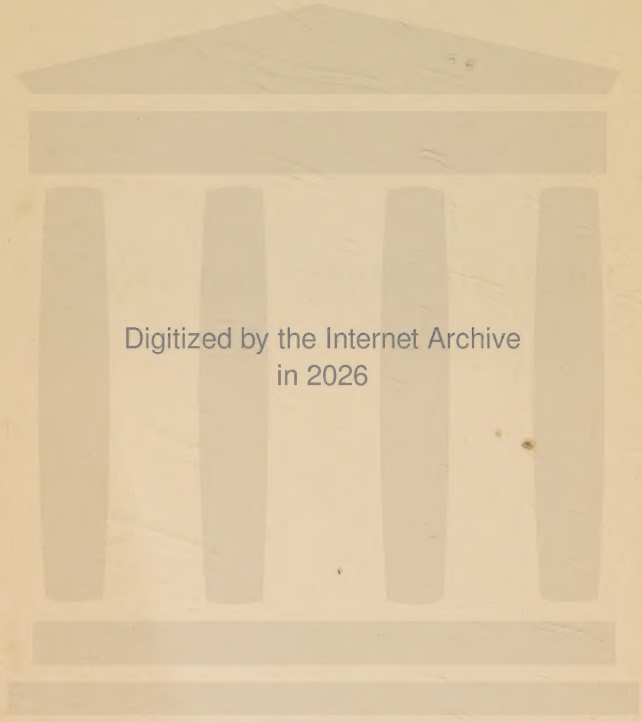

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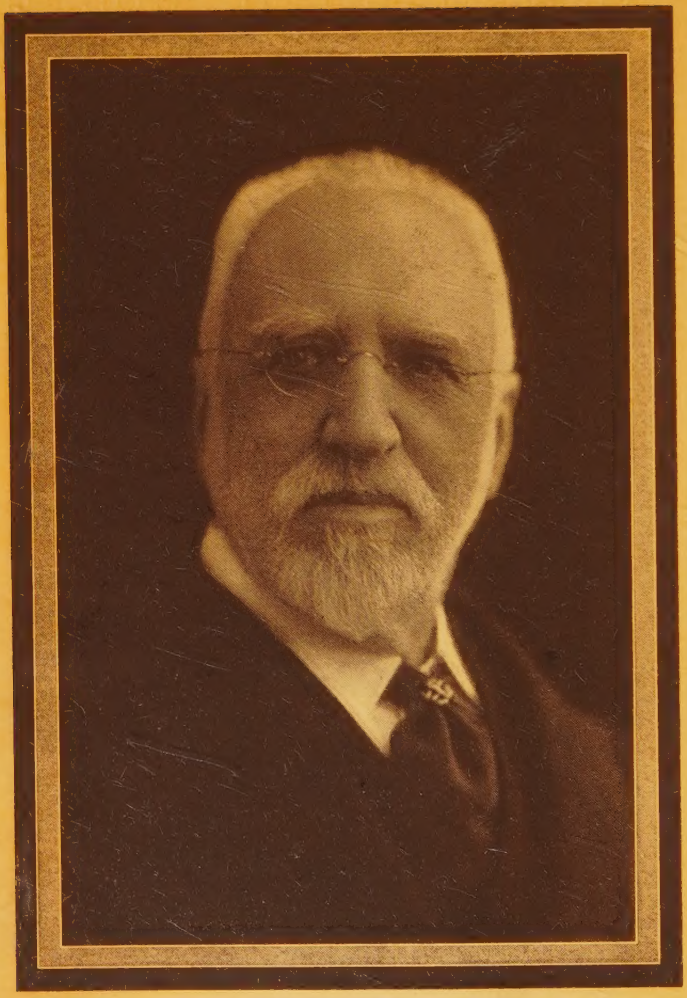
RICHARD GREEN MOULTON



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Richard G. Moulton

Richard Green Moulton,

LL.D. (Cantab.), PH.D. (Penna.),

PROFESSOR OF LITERARY THEORY AND INTERPRETATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A MEMOIR

BY

HIS NEPHEW

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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CONTENTS

Chap		Page
	Introduction	7
I.	Early Days	11
II.	University Extension	19
III.	The Study of Literature	33
IV.	The Literary Study of the Bible	59
V.	First Contact with America	74
VI.	Chicago	87
VII.	A Strenuous Ministry	100
VIII.	Eventide	123
Appendix I.	Syllabus of Lecture at Belper on the University Extension Movement	131
Appendix II.	The Department of General Literature in the University of Chicago	136
Appendix III.	Titles of Other Courses given by Professor Moulton in the University	144
Books by Richard Green Moulton		146

INTRODUCTION

RICHARD GREEN MOULTON was a missionary of culture, an apostle of adult education. He spent his life in trying to make a new background to the minds of men and women whose lot in life had fallen at a time of emigration from settled habits of thought to regions of unrest.

Behind him lay four generations of the Methodist ministry. Itinerancy was in his blood. In the service of Universities he did what his forbears had done in the service of the Wesleyan Connexion. With unselfish ardour and with cheerful courage he sowed seed which, both in England and in the United States, has grown to harvest. Like Wordsworth's seafaring brother, Moulton was born with a trust which he did not fail to comprehend. Hence he settled down to a life of unsettlement. Nearly fifty years ago we in the West Riding asked him whether his life of almost incessant winter travel from town to town was not wearying and distasteful. I remember the spirit with which he answered us. 'When I have been for a few hours in a new lodging, I feel that it is my home.'

Moulton gave much of his life to University Extension. He served his cause with fire and faith. He sprang from a fine stock. The quality of mind and character which one of his brothers showed in the service of science and law, which a second brother showed in Biblical study and in the governance of a great school, which a third showed in missionary statesmanship in the South Seas, Richard Moulton displayed as a pioneer and upholder of the ideas

of University Extension. What, we may ask, was there in those ideas which gave momentum to the labours of his life?

Nearly sixty years ago a young Scot, James Stuart of Balgonie, confided to his mother the plans which he cherished for his career. He had taken his degree at Cambridge a few months before. Ever afterwards this talk stood out particularly in his memory and in hers.

'I described to her the great difference that there seemed to me to be between the education in England and in Scotland. In the former place there were practically no lectures of the kind given by the professors in St. Andrew's, and the opportunities for University Education were very much less wide-spread than in Scotland. I told her that I thought of staying at the University (at Cambridge, in Trinity) and of endeavouring to accomplish two things: first, to make the University lectures generally open to all Colleges, and of a more interesting type; second, to establish a sort of peripatetic University, the professors of which would circulate among the big towns and thus give a wider opportunity for receiving such teaching. . . . It took about ten years to accomplish these two objects, but my mother often referred in after-years to the general correctness of the anticipations of which I then told her.'

James Stuart was the father of the activities of University Extension teaching. He invented, stumbled on, its characteristic method—the lecture followed (or prefaced) by the class and illustrated by a syllabus. His animated leadership drew young men to his banner. The first were V. H. Stanton, T. O. Harding, E. B. Birks. Hard on their heels were W. Moore Ede, T. J. Lawrence, W. Cunningham, J. E. Symes, R. D. Roberts, R. G. Moulton. Thus in 1874 Moulton started his life's work by giving courses of University Extension lectures, under

the authority of the University of Cambridge, at Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham. His itinerancy had begun. It was a few years after that that we got to know him at Barnsley in Yorkshire. Nearly half a century has passed, but my memory of his influence has not faded. He was like a gardener bringing water to a thirsty garden. His pupils were but a handful. But he opened windows in their minds. He made them love poetry more. He shared their love of music. He showed them new standards of scholarship. He made an isolated group of book-lovers feel companionship with groups elsewhere. More than this, he made them grateful to Cambridge, conscious of an ancient University tradition which had become hospitable to them and friendly, though remote.

There came a time in the early history of University Extension when the movement seemed in danger of flagging. Moulton and Roberts upheld it. Their example was not without influence in Oxford, where William Sewell a generation earlier had seen, as had Lord Arthur Hervey at Cambridge, what the extension of University teaching might do for England. At Oxford, as at Cambridge, the movement was strong in friends : at Cambridge, besides James Stuart, there were Henry Sidgwick and G. F. Browne : at Oxford, besides Benjamin Jowett, were T. H. Green, Arnold Toynbee, and Arthur Acland. But more men of Moulton's mark were needed for the teaching front. Stuart's fervour, Browne's business head, Jowett's daring, Acland's insight rallied new recruits. What Cambridge University Extension had found in Moulton and in Roberts, Oxford found in Hudson Shaw, in Halford Mackinder, in J. A. R. Marriott, in E. L. S. Horsburgh. And at Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, Reading, and Exeter new University Colleges consolidated what University Extension had helped to begin.

Sir Joshua Fitch used to tell a story about Dean Stanley

and Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. Stanley was asked whether he had learnt much from Arnold's teaching in the Sixth. He drew a notebook from his pocket and said : ' All I got from Dr. Arnold in the way of direct instruction could be written in this little book.' But Arnold coloured Stanley's conscience and convictions. Moulton, without Arnold's fierce earnestness in theology and politics, had something of his power to make a new atmosphere in his pupils' minds. He was infectious, radiant, magnetic. He was part preacher, part actor, part troubadour. He glowed with love of the English Bible, of Greek tragedy, of Shakespeare, of Goethe, and we who heard him recite what he loved, warmed ourselves at his fire.

M. E. SADLER.

University College, Oxford,
June, 1926.

CHAPTER I.

Early Days.

It was on the fifth of May, 1849, that Richard Green Moulton first saw the light, in the Wesleyan Methodist manse just a few yards off Fishergate in Preston, where his father, the Rev. James Egan Moulton, was Superintendent minister of the circuit. Richard was the youngest of the six children of his parents, four boys and two girls, a gap of fourteen years separating him from the eldest, William Fiddian, the future Head Master of the Leys School, Cambridge. The family history may be said to begin with John Bakewell, the writer of the well-known hymn, the property of all the Churches over the face of the earth, 'Hail, Thou once despisèd Jesus!' Starting as an evangelist in his native county of Derbyshire, he afterwards opened a school in Greenwich, where he had as one of his assistant masters Mr. James Egan of Limerick, who subsequently received an LL.D. degree at Dublin, and also the gold medal of a learned society for a dissertation upon the best method of teaching Greek. Association in educational work led to the awakening of a strong attachment between Mr. Egan and Mr. Bakewell's clever daughter Maria, who possessed a remarkable knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. On one of the Rev. John Wesley's frequent visits to his friend's house, he saw readily enough how things stood between these brilliant young people, and he lost no time in urging upon Mr. Bakewell certain plans for the furtherance of the

Lord's work—and, incidentally, of the interests of this gifted couple. 'John,' said Wesley, 'let the young people marry, hand over the school to them; and you go and preach the gospel.' That dominating personality bore an almost unchallenged sway in that house. John Bakewell assented; and the young people, nothing loth, assented too, Mr. Wesley himself performing the ceremony. John Bakewell lived to the ripe age of ninety-eight, retaining all his faculties to the very last.

The Egans had a large family, but only two of the children call for mention here. One married the Rev. William Moulton, the grandfather of the subject of this memoir, who was a frequent visitor at the Egans' house by reason of the fact that it was in the 'London Circuit'! Another daughter, who remained unmarried, settled in Worcester and opened there a preparatory school for boys, whither, at a very early age, the eldest brother of Richard Green Moulton went to receive his first initiation into scholarship at the hands of his great-aunt. She was a woman of great mental activity and width of reading, and an excellent classical scholar, whilst her physical vitality must have been extraordinary, for, after falling downstairs and breaking her thigh at the age of over eighty, she lived on into her hundredth year, crippled, but retaining her faculties to the last, even as her grandfather had done.

William Moulton's family was a large one—fifteen in all—though six died either in childhood or before they had grown up. The eldest lad, William, was a boy of great promise, and was head boy of Woodhouse Grove School—then a school for the sons of Wesleyan ministers—but died at sixteen. James Egan Moulton, the father of the remarkable quartet of brothers, early showed the attainments which had characterized those who came before him. From eight to fifteen he was at Kingswood

School—also a school for sons of Wesleyan ministers—and his name appears the first in the first prize list of the school. From fifteen to twenty-two he remained there as a master—a master at fifteen!—until he entered the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. As a teacher he seems to have had a singular gift for making his subjects interesting—a gift which reappears in his sons, and notably in R. G. Moulton. Moreover, he was remarkable both for the thoroughness of his knowledge and for his breadth. He was a mathematician above the average: he had an extensive knowledge of Greek and Latin authors, and he 'could read Hebrew like a Jew.'

But no estimate of the formative influences in the life of R. G. Moulton, as of his three brothers, would be adequate without some tribute to his mother, Catherine Fiddian, daughter of Mr. William Fiddian, a brass founder in Birmingham. She and her husband formed a remarkable pair; for, great as were his attainments and intellectual powers, she was quite his equal, though her gifts had the distinctive colouring of a woman's nature. She had a fine mind, and great powers of conversation when she chose to use them, but she was a thorough woman, according to the ideal of eighty years ago. She went as near to worshipping her husband as so saintly a woman could go, and her tender love for her children, her considerateness, her strong, wise counsel, left an indelible impression upon the minds and hearts of those who knew her best.

It was from such a stock that R. G. Moulton sprang. His mother died when he was only six years old, and in 1857 his father married, in Guernsey, Henriette Bysson Taylor, a lady of Huguenot descent, who had been brought up in France. That he owed a great deal to this lady Richard always acknowledged, and the devotion to her of the whole family up to her death at an advanced age in

1890—almost twenty-five years after the death of her husband—was very beautiful. Amid such conditions he grew up; and if these things have been stressed, it is because they bore so directly upon the foundation of his character, his activities, and his tastes.

He was a frail child, and few would have ventured to predict for him any future marked by distinction, or even moderate success, on that very ground. One phase of his childhood days may be noted here, because it is so interesting an anticipation of what became afterwards his most outstanding achievement in respect of the presentation of literature. The frailty of his health resulted in his being left much to himself when other boys would join in the co-operative sport of the playground: but he had his own games, into which he needed not to ask any to enter. For hours he would lie on the floor in front of the fire, and carry on a wonderful game of make-believe in which he would welcome visitors, and conduct conversation in character with them, adapting his voice, gestures, and subject-matter to the visitor he was impersonating at the time. Those who, thirty or forty years later, heard him give his Interpretative Recitals, whether of Greek Tragedy or of Bible story, will recognize that the child was but the father of the man, and that the instinct for dramatic impersonation manifested itself uncommonly early.

As he grew older his health improved, and after a year at Mr. Rush's School (Clevedon College) at Northampton, he went to New Kingswood School, Bath, where he was conspicuously successful, and, like his brother John,[1] became head boy. Like him also, he did exceedingly well in the Oxford Local Examinations. He commenced his educational career when at the early age of sixteen and a half he went—first as an 'usher'—to Clevedon College

[1] Afterwards the Right Hon. Lord Moulton of Bank.

again. While there, he went in for more examinations, including the London Matriculation, in which his name headed the honours list in 1867, and he obtained a £30 scholarship. From Clevedon College he went as an assistant master to the private school of Mr. Frederick Conquest at Biggleswade, preparing at the same time for the London University B.A. Examination. In later life R. G. Moulton used to relate his experiences in connexion with that examination in 1869 as illustrating some of the weaknesses of any system which relies *solely* upon such tests. It was considered so certain that Moulton would win the £50 scholarship that two candidates had withdrawn in order to have a chance another year. He had to take two examinations with an interval of a week between the two. During that week a severe attack of mumps developed, and when the time came for the second examination he was in a very high fever! The results were interesting: (1) Having taken the first examination, he was debarred from taking the second at a later time; (2) He did not obtain the scholarship; (3) The scholarship was not awarded to anyone; (4) R. G. Moulton remained on the lists of the London University as a pass B.A.!

He remained with Mr. Conquest until he went up to Cambridge with a Classical Scholarship to Christ's College, taking his degree in Classics in 1874.

In those years at Cambridge, which had been the family home since 1864, his activities naturally included much besides preparation for the Classical tripos. One thing worth noting is connected with the wonderful power he manifested later of taking in a dramatic work as a whole, making it absolutely his own, and then presenting it as a clear unity in an 'Interpretative Recital.' In a period of relaxation after five o'clock 'hall,' he would read through at a sitting an English drama. This gave him valuable

training in grasping dramatic structure—not detailed memory of plays, but a 'composite photograph' of Elizabethan drama, which was of great assistance to him during the earlier years of his lecturing career.

Reference also may fittingly be made here to his musical tastes and gifts, for they not only afforded rich embellishment to his life but unquestionably contributed to the body of his literary thinking at a later stage. Anyone who heard him give his Interpretative Recital, 'The Rhapsody of Zion Redeemed,' with the magnificent Wagner illustration, would not need to be told that he was a musician to his finger-tips. It was, moreover, a period of notable musical awakening in Cambridge. In succession to Dr. J. L. Hopkins in 1873 a young undergraduate named Charles Villiers Stanford had been appointed organist at Trinity College, the appointment being coupled with the considerate concession that he should be allowed to pursue his musical studies in Germany during the next two years. It has seldom been granted to a man to influence the artistic life of a great and important centre as Villiers Stanford influenced Cambridge in the succeeding period up to 1890. The University Musical Society had been in existence since 1844, but it was not until Stanford secured the admission of ladies 'as performing members' that the society was enabled to enter upon what was destined to be a career of great distinction in the musical world. R. G. Moulton was among the prominent members of the Society, being at one time Secretary, and upon him those early years of the Stanford *régime* left a deep impression. One musical event was probably connected with some far-reaching developments of his future career. In 1873 Stanford was present at the Schumann Festival at Bonn, and the result of the impact of that composer's rich and picturesque music upon the young enthusiast was speedily seen in the

programmes of the C.U.M.S. Among other notable productions the Society had the credit of giving the first English performance of the *Faust* music (1876). R. G. Moulton was in the chorus of this work, and retained a very high opinion of it, often in his earlier years singing the superb bass solo ' Thou, O purest, holiest.' When we realize that within a few years he was making a tremendous success with his Faust lectures, it is easy to imagine that the rehearsing of that work in 1876 may have been an important factor in awakening his sense of the literary possibilities of the various presentations of the Faust legend. In University Extension teaching if the length of the course would permit, and always in University classes, his treatment of this whole subject—it was one of his ' Five Literary Bibles '—included, along with the four great literary versions, some consideration of the outstanding musical works inspired by the Faust story. He was interested in them all, from Spohr to Mahler's Eighth Symphony—' The Symphony of a Thousand '—three fine performances of which he heard in Chicago within five days ! Like his brothers William and Egan, he was an enthusiastic organist from a very early age, and for some years he played the organ at Hobson Street Chapel whenever he was in Cambridge. It is not always safe to trust the validity of boyish estimates and enthusiasms, but there remains with me a vivid sense of how his music impressed us all at that time as being most convincing and most potent in generating enthusiasm among others. Of course, by the time when I heard him most, his voice—although its essentially musical quality remained—had begun to lose power and flexibility ; but his style, forcefulness, and dramatic power were remarkable There stands out with me a Sunday morning at Oban in 1885, when, after breakfast, he sat down and sang a song which was almost equally

impressive for the movement of its melody and the colour of its accompaniment. It thrilled us all, and after futile guesses had been made as to the composer—Schumann being the favourite—we were interested to learn that it was a setting of John Ellerton's ' O to love Thee more and more ' by Dr. John Naylor, afterwards organist of York Minster, who had been among the most eager and helpful supporters of University Extension work in Scarborough when R. G. Moulton lectured there.

CHAPTER II.

University Extension.

To so great a degree was R. G. Moulton's career identified with the University Extension Movement that it would be futile to launch out into any account of his life-work without indicating in some degree the early history of that enterprise, which, first in England and then America, has done so much for the spread of education, enabling the Universities to give to the outside world in some measure the riches of culture which had hitherto been accessible only to those within their walls. The initiation of the movement synchronized with the close of R. G. Moulton's three years at Cambridge, when naturally he was on the look-out for a sphere of activity. Moreover, the moving spirit in the project was, as we shall see directly, James Stuart, afterwards Professor of Engineering at Cambridge and for several years a Member of Parliament. Stuart was an intimate friend of John Fletcher Moulton, Richard's elder brother, who was Senior Wrangler in 1868 and was elected to a fellowship at Christ's College shortly after: and through that friendship Stuart must have come into touch with the younger brother as well. But reports reaching him of notable speeches at the 'Union,' in which subjects had been powerfully presented, he was led to consider more closely this young man, who was destined to mean so much to the movement during the next twenty-five years.

The University Extension Movement was the response

to the demand which came from a generation vastly different from our own ; but it may be claimed with justice that in the achieving of the new order of things University Extension played no small part. When we go back to the early seventies of the nineteenth century we are going into a period when the word ' University ' meant for England only Oxford and Cambridge, for London did not then exist as a teaching University, and the provincial universities had not as yet come into being. It must be admitted that the two historic universities had lived very much within their own confines ; and although leavening thought and opinion through the men they sent forth, they cannot be said to have recognized any corporate obligation to share with the world outside the many good things that had come their way. But the years in the middle of last century were so fully charged with the spirit of change that the ancient seats of learning could not have remained insensible to it even had they so desired. Since the year 1845 efforts had been made at intervals to make University advantages more widely available. These included an attempt ' to make possible the admission of poorer men to the University ' ; the suggestion ' that University funds might justly and serviceably be employed for the maintenance of Professors in Manchester and Birmingham ! ' ; and a suggestion for ' supplying the literary, scientific, and Mechanics' Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland with lecturers from the Universities.'

Ample evidence is to be found that there was at that period a growing desire for educational advantages moving in the country, and an increasing sense of obligation in the universities with reference to the meeting of those desires. Out of these there comes the initiation of the movement itself and the activities of Mr. James Stuart—well known as Professor Stuart, M.P.—in the matter. For it was Mr.

Stuart more than anyone else who brought to fruition ideas which had been expressed in one form or other by so many. In his volume of reminiscences he tells of how, just after taking his degree in 1865, he told his mother that he wished to remain up at Cambridge so that he might try to achieve two things: 'first, to make the University lectures generally open to all the Colleges; and second, to establish a sort of peripatetic University, the professors of which would circulate among the big towns, and thus give a wider opportunity for receiving such teaching.' Within a couple of years the occasion presented itself for experimenting in regard to the second object, for in the summer of 1867 he was approached by an association known as the 'North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women,' to give lectures to women during the autumn in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Leeds. The Council was rich in women of vision and high purpose, for the President was Mrs. Josephine Butler, the Secretary Miss A. J. Clough, afterwards Principal of Newnham, and on the Council as consultative members were Mr. James Bryce and Mr. Joshua Fitch, the Inspector of Schools. The original proposal was that Mr. Stuart should lecture on the theory and methods of education; but he demurred on the ground that he considered that something specific would serve better than an abstract subject, and ultimately it was arranged that he should give a course of lectures in each place on the History of Astronomy. The same winter his lecture courses at Crewe and Rochdale enabled him still further to work out his experiment of a peripatetic University, and it is most interesting to see him initiating in those days of experiment the very procedure which came to be most characteristic of University Extension in a few years' time. 'I was anxious,' he says, 'to make the lectures as educational as possible,

and, in consequence, at the first lecture I advised every pupil to make notes after each lecture, in the form of a syllabus or string of sentences, and I produced a syllabus of the first lecture in print, which I distributed, indicating the sort of thing which I thought they might expand. This was given to them at the end of the lecture, but subsequently I made it a good deal shorter, and gave it at the beginning, as I found it assisted them to follow the lecture.' This was the origin of the syllabus which has always accompanied every University Extension lecture. It was with these classes for women that Mr. Stuart initiated another element which has become so integral an element in University Extension operations—the paper work each week: and the measure of keenness is witnessed by the fact that out of six hundred pupils, three hundred responded to his invitation to send in answers to his questions. And if the syllabus and the paper-work originated with the women, the 'class' originated with the men at Rochdale—and all by accident. 'One day I was in some hurry to get away as soon as the lecture was over, and I asked the hall-keeper to allow my diagrams to remain hanging till my return next week. When I came back he said to me, "It was one of the best things you ever did in leaving up those diagrams. We had a meeting of our members (Co-operative Society) last week, and a number of them who are attending your lectures were discussing these diagrams, and they have a number of questions they want to ask you, and they are coming to-night a little before the lecture begins." About twenty or thirty intelligent artisans met me about half an hour before the lecture began, and I found it so useful a half-hour that during the remainder of the course I always had such a meeting.'

It will at once be recognized that not only were there present in these tentative schemes all the germs of

University Extension, but also that it was all to the good that they should have evolved naturally from the exigencies of an actual situation, rather than being thought and discussed *in vacuo*. After three or four years of further experimenting steps were taken to approach the universities with a view to their taking up this type of work. In November, 1871, on the initiative of Mr. Stuart, memorials were sent up to Cambridge from the North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women, the Crewe Mechanics' Institute, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, the Mayor and other inhabitants of Leeds, and a little later from Birmingham, Nottingham and other Midland towns, asking that the University would take in hand the kind of lecturing work in the provinces which had been done in a tentative, individual way by Mr. Stuart; and the memorials were followed up by a letter of his own, addressed to all resident members of the Senate.

The response to the appeal was most encouraging, for within a few months a Syndicate was formed to consider and to report upon the issues raised by the memorialists: and the appointment of Mr. Stuart as secretary to the Syndicate was a sufficient guarantee that there was a whole-hearted desire to approach the question sympathetically. Questionnaires were issued to Mechanics' Institutes and other local bodies. This procedure soon revealed that while in some centres there was an eager demand for higher education along such lines, in the majority of centres their first work would consist in creating the demand for their own commodities. This absence of a universal demand constituted no argument against the project: quite the reverse, for it was their duty and privilege to come to the aid of the select few, the men and women of vision who are to be found to some degree in every centre of population, and to help

to form what Sir Michael Sadler aptly styles 'an educational garrison' in their own town. The Syndicate presented their Report in 1873, and advocated making an experiment by sending lecturers from the University to certain towns, the Syndicate remaining in existence for the purpose of watching the working of the plan and reporting further in two or three years' time. In October of that year University Extension was inaugurated by a great meeting at Nottingham, presided over by Lord Carnarvon, and addressed by Mr. G. J. Goschen, and the opening courses were given at Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester by the Revs. V. H. Stanton and E. B. Birks, and Mr. O. Harding, all three of them Fellows of Trinity. In the following term further courses were arranged, and among the new lecturers were R. G. Moulton and W. Moore Ede, now Dean of Worcester and the only surviving member of the early band of Extension Lecturers. 'The sequel was that before the experimental period was expired the Syndicate reported in favour of making the scheme permanent; the University accepted the Report, and handed the future conduct of the lectures to the Local Examinations Syndicate by Grace of the Senate.'[1] Mr. Stuart remained an active member of the Syndicate until he left Cambridge in 1889, having, however, relinquished the secretariat to the Rev. G. Forrest Browne, afterwards Canon of St. Paul's and Bishop of Bristol.

Before passing on from the outline of the history of the movement to the consideration of R. G. Moulton's share in it, note must be taken of the establishment of University Colleges, which belongs to the same decade The relation between the two enterprises is close, and cannot be ignored. University Extension would never

[1] *University Extension*, 1878–1923. W. H. Draper, Master of the Temple.

claim the credit of having created those colleges and, by implication, of having called into being the newer universities ; but it had its share in giving impetus to the new developments. Probably the truest statement of the case would be to say that both were the products of the same progressive spirit in education and the widening of culture, and that University Extension—the first-born—was in a position to afford some measure of assistance to the younger offspring. Whether this be so or not, that decade saw a phenomenal development in that direction. Owen's College, Manchester, had been founded in 1851. During the period 1871 to 1881—largely owing to the munificence of private donors—colleges were founded at Newcastle, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, and Sheffield, the last two especially resulting directly and confessedly out of the Extension Movement. Also (in 1877) the Yorkshire College at Leeds took on the preparation for degrees in Arts, having been originally the Yorkshire College of Science.

In this chronicle of the beginnings of University Extension the University of Cambridge has been chiefly in evidence, because naturally Mr. Stuart approached his own University when he thought out his projects ; and also because the subject of the present memoir was a Cambridge man. But Cambridge was far from receiving, or desiring to receive, a monopoly of the new openings for service in this field. In June, 1876, at a meeting at the Mansion House, Mr. Goschen, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved a resolution to the effect ' that the principle of the Cambridge University Extension scheme be applied to London, and that the various Education Institutions of the Metropolis be requested to co-operate in an endeavour to apply it.' The following year Mr. Jowett, afterwards Master of Balliol, gave some very outspoken evidence before the Oxford University

Commission, in which he called attention to the considerable movement for secondary adult education then going on in the large towns, and urged that the universities should 'take a little pains' about it. Two practical suggestions he made: (1) that there should be an office for University Extension, and a secretary paid by the University: (2) that the tenure of non-resident fellowships should be capable of extension in the case of persons lecturing or holding professorships in the large towns. Within twelve months of Mr. Jowett's evidence being given Oxford had followed in the wake of Cambridge, with Mr. Arthur Acland as secretary. To-day the more recent universities have their systems of University Extension Lectures, and there is no such institution which does not make the effort to bring its activities to bear upon those who for some reason or other are altogether unable to come within its more immediate influence.

It was into a movement so rich in varied possibilities that R. G. Moulton threw himself with all the enthusiasm of a young man. It caught hold of him and he caught hold of it. His place in the movement is the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that he was only twenty-five when he took up the work; and also that the enterprise itself was new, and therefore had no momentum already generated. It was laid upon him and those associated with him to create a living expression of the ideals which had already moved the founders of the movement, for they would have been the first to recognize that the scheme would stand or fall with the ability of the lecturers to translate it into palpitating realities. As it turned out, this was to be in an especial sense the commission for R. G. Moulton, he having no other public obligations, and so being more at liberty to throw himself into the work than were other lecturers of that early period. From September to April each year his courses kept him closely

occupied; and the amount of travelling entailed was considerable. At that time Summer Meetings, Chautauquas and the like, were not so regular a part of educational programmes for the year as they have since become, and the so-called 'vacation' of about five months was attractive both as a welcome relief from the strain of the lecturing season, and as an excellent opportunity for the formulation of plans and for literary study. Of the latter, a large part was, in the earliest years, by way of preparation for the next winter's lectures and classes; but the trend of it all for R. G. Moulton was ever along the lines of that working for the *scientific study of literature as a whole*, to which—as a life-object—he definitely dedicated himself at the age of thirty.

If he joined us, as he very often did, for a six weeks' holiday in Scotland or elsewhere, he would blend strenuous study with recreation; and that blend was responsible for many a treasured memory. My father would go to Scotland for a holiday with at least three big boxes full of books—he once paid 'excess' on fifteen hundred pounds of luggage; and his brother went off in the same spirit, though with a much smaller measure of encumbrances. Whole day excursions were not by any means frowned upon, but I have a kind of idea that if proposals of that order had come too frequently, there would have been a mild protest from those members of the party to whom a holiday consisted not in cessation of work but in change of work! Like all his brothers, my uncle Richard was a great walker, and it was my privilege to be his companion for tramps which during the period from 1885 to 1890 must have totalled up to a mileage of nearly four figures, over ground as far apart as Orkney and Land's End. On one occasion we were together at Gairloch in Ross-shire, intending to cross to Skye the next day. An accident to the boat in the evening thwarted our project; so at

seven-thirty the next morning we started to walk back to Strathpeffer, where the family was staying—a distance of fifty-three miles, which we covered in fifteen hours, in spite of having to do the last sixteen on the sleepers of a railroad track. For a young man in his early twenties, constantly kept in good condition by various types of sport, there was nothing very wonderful in such a prolonged effort; but for a man of forty, accustomed to a somewhat sedentary life and in no sense prepared for a lengthy tramp—it was our first long walk that summer—it was surely a somewhat noteworthy achievement.

I have digressed thus to refer to his predilection for long walks because it was on those walks that I first learned concerning many of his literary projects, those conceptions of literature which came to be so inseparably associated with his name. Indeed, the long ascent from Loch Long up through Glencroe is inseparably associated in my mind with Deuteronomy and the Literary Study of the Bible which then (1891) was occupying all his thoughts; and I think he was rather glad to have in me a *corpus vile* on which to experiment, a 'trial audience' to which he could rehearse. If that was so, then the advantage was mutual, for I am more conscious now than I was at the time of how much I got from him in that informal way The departure to America left me very much the poorer, but the recollections of those holiday seasons will always remain.

Seeing that he gave himself with such unremitting zeal to University Extension during those formative years of the movement, it will be worth while to watch him at his self-appointed task, both because of what it reveals concerning him, and what it tells of the movement. We find him beginning his lecturing career in the Potteries, with Hanley and Stoke as his main centres of activity We then find him at Lincoln and Chesterfield; after that,

at Halifax, Leeds, Barnsley, and Sheffield. In the end there were very few important centres of population where he had not pleaded for a recognition of the worth-whileness of the study of literature. His syllabus in the earliest courses is a very far remove from that which he sent forth at a later period, but there is no doubt as to the width of reading that lay behind it, and it is amazing to note the increase of grip year by year, as manifested in the syllabus for the course. He goes to Warrington in September, 1877, with an altogether different presentation of his subject, and his syllabus for the course reveals the characteristics which later become most noticeable in his treatment of the study of literature. He is evidently getting into his stride. One of the most piquant incidents of his early work as a lecturer is that afforded by his first visit to Sheffield in the autumn of 1875. He was giving an Extension Course on 'Literature as a Reflection of National History,' to which he drew an average attendance of three hundred and fourteen. But alongside of that course we find him running a subsidiary course on the 'Analysis of Sentences,' for which he managed to secure an average attendance of three hundred and nine on a Saturday afternoon! This may fairly be claimed as a notable achievement, for the subject is not one which naturally lends itself to lecture treatment; and the fact that at such an hour and on such a theme he gathered such a company shows that, even in his earliest days as a lecturer, he possessed a gift of presentation which attracted students even where the subject under consideration was not one which in itself could be regarded as attractive.

While showing in his own work a brilliant exposition in practice of what University Extension stood for, he was always prepared to do his share in respect of advocacy of the movement itself by the elucidation of its formative

ideas. At the risk of echoing certain things which have already been said with reference to the movement, attention may be turned to the syllabus of a lecture which he gave at Belper in March, 1885, on the subject of the movement as a whole. A large portion of that syllabus is reproduced practically verbatim in Appendix I., showing in general the typographical variations upon which he laid such stress. It will serve not only to present the movement as he conceived it, but it will also show what there was in it to make him ready and eager to devote so large a share of his time and energy to it, and to give it a place in his life-plans, second only to the work for ' literary study in general, which,' he writes, ' is my real interest in life.'

If that may be taken as embodying what he thought of the movement, what the movement thought of him may be gathered from a warm appreciation in the *University Extension Bulletin* from the pen of Prof. A. J. Grant of Leeds University in October, 1924 :

> With R. G. Moulton there has passed away, I think, the greatest figure in the University Extension world. No one has believed in it more thoroughly : no one has represented its ideas more worthily ; and I think no one has done so much to recommend it to all classes of people. . . . I never knew Moulton intimately. Whenever we met he was kindness itself, and he put at my disposal his wide experience when I began my work as lecturer ; but I rarely met him. And yet what I heard about him made him seem a kind of heroic figure. There were many lecturers, but there was only one Moulton. Was there a lecture-centre where he had not the record for the largest audiences ? Fabulous things were reported of his power of attracting. Secretaries who traced a curve to show the fluctuation in their audiences, pointed to the high peak which indicated a visit from Moulton, as they showed in Phæacia the marks which proclaimed to what incredible

distances the Gods and heroes of old had hurled the quoit. Was a centre in financial difficulties? A visit from Moulton would save the situation. Was it desired to widen the social classes to which the lectures made an appeal? The same specific was recommended. His lectures, I believe, practically always took the form of recitals of literature, and it was amazing to note how he won in this way an interested and eager audience for the masterpieces of Greek tragedy and comedy, and for the books of the Bible, as well as for the more popular works of dramatic literature. There were, of course, some who were not sympathetic with his methods, and who thought that the dramatic appeal was too exclusively used. But his treatment was not superficial or flashy. He carried his audience to the heart of great literature, and made them eager to study it for themselves. What a number of men and women there are up and down the country—and I feel sure there are an equal number in America—who trace the beginning of a serious study of literature to the day when they heard Moulton lecture on *Faust*, the *Agamemnon*, or *Job!* He spoke, I believe, nearly always without notes. His memory was prodigious; his voice clear and penetrating. He recognized that lecturing was his business in life, and he considered with wise care every detail of gesture and voice management. There was one small point in which, I think, his lectures had an almost solitary pre-eminence. They always ended exactly at the appointed moment. Audiences used to cheer as his last words were mingled with the striking of a neighbouring clock. . . . His lectures were unlike those of anyone else. It is surely a real mark of genius to do what many others do, better than anyone else, and in a manner different from anyone else. There are many popular lecturers on Literature, and there are many learned lecturers on Literature. But who has combined the two qualities as Moulton did? Who, so well as he, has used gesture, declamation, and rhetoric

to promote real intellectual study? I will end as I began, by saying that there have been many lecturers, but only one Moulton, and I hardly think there will be another. The next generation will find it difficult to realize the peculiar quality of his work; perhaps difficult to understand how splendidly successful it was.

CHAPTER III.

The Study of Literature.

It is not claiming too much for R. G. Moulton to describe him as a pioneer in the field of popularizing the study of Literature. The University Extension Movement, as has been seen, gave him his platform; and there thronged round it hundreds and thousands for whom existing organizations had furnished no word of inspiration, unless it might be through cold print. During his eighteen years of University Extension work in England he found an eager response to the kind of appeal he made; and what was true of England proved true also of America when he turned thither for his sphere of activity. It is therefore of primary importance for our purpose here to try to catch his angle of approach to Literature; for it was essentially his own, and it certainly 'delivered the goods.' If the pioneer in civilization is reckoned great according to his power to make two blades of grass grow where before there had been only one, surely the same appreciation must be awarded to the interpreter of Literature who calls into being two intelligent readers where before there had been only one. And this he achieved without a shadow of doubt. There must have been something in his presentation of his many-sided subject that captured the imagination of his hearers, for he built up classes which, for size and eagerness, have been some of the wonders of the movement. He undoubtedly followed a line of approach which had his own individuality stamped upon it; and 'it got there.'

What ' it ' really was may be deduced from his writings, and especially from two. The first is the Introduction to his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, published in 1885, and embodying teaching which he had been giving in University Extension centres up and down the country for more than ten years. The second is a Convocation address which he gave at the University of Chicago early in 1917 on *The Study of Literature and the Integration of Knowledge*. In these two utterances—at the ages of thirty-six and sixty-eight—we have his ' profession of faith ' concerning those matters which were the objects of his life's study. The view-point and the setting were somewhat different, but the attitude of mind was the same. However much he developed in insight, in grasp, in width of learning, he saw no reason to recede from those leading propositions concerning Literature which had shaped his presentation of the subject from the first.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century Matthew Arnold was preaching that Literature was, before all things, a criticism of life : and that idea was, consciously or unconsciously, the foundation of R. G. Moulton's conception of literary study. But if we are to understand his work, we must follow him into his inquiries into the implications of the three terms used—Criticism, Literature, Life. First we turn to the predicative term as delimiting all else. Few words have slipped from their moorings more disastrously than ' criticism.' Among the majority of readers criticism has come to be regarded as fault-finding and blame ; with the result that ' Biblical Criticism '—to single out one serious example—is in many quarters regarded with horror and aversion as being an indictment of God and a slight upon holy things. It is needless here to stress the point that the word ' criticism ' does not rightly carry that signification ; and

that Matthew Arnold does not use it in that sense, but according to its rightful meaning—the ascertaining and exposition of facts, in the interests of a true interpretation of Life. But 'Life,' according to usage and context, will also be found bearing a variety of significations.

> I mean 'Life' with a capital L. It is what we have in mind when we say we are going out to 'see Life.' It is what the speaker in the Latin play meant when he said that, human himself, he considered all humanity his province. And when the modern poet lays down that 'The proper study of mankind is Man,' he does not mean anthropology; he means Life. What defines this Life is its synthetic character, and for this reason it is incompatible with specialization. Many sciences touch Life, but by their constitution as sciences they can deal with only one aspect of Life at a time. Etymologically, biology should mean the science of life: what it actually means is science of the physical basis of life. Sociology can deal with life only in aggregations. Ethics and psychology yield general principles of life; but they need to be supplemented with a distributive ethics and psychology before they can overtake the personality which is such an element in synthetic Life. Hence the medium for this study of Life reverts from science to literature. The literature required is literature in the most general sense, including poetry and fiction, including the floating literature of journalism. It must extend to the most frivolous society paper: for the instrument of reflection must not admit restrictions foreign to the thing surveyed, as you cannot measure spherical angles with plane rules. And all this is precisely what Matthew Arnold means when, having first laid down that criticism signifies the seeing things as they really are, he defines literature as the 'criticism of life.' It appears then that general literature, besides being the natural organ for the integration of thought,

> has in this one case a specific function : it serves as the only possible science and practical art of Life.[1]

It is not too much to say that it was this belief which not only shaped R. G. Moulton's thinking on the whole subject of Literature, but it was instrumental in creating within him a sense, an overwhelming sense, of the supreme ' worth-whileness ' of the subject. The science of life, as concerned with ' the thing living,' is worthy of honour and devotion ; no less so, in his opinion, is the science of life, as concerned with ' the thing lived ' ; and to the latter he gave himself with all the enthusiasm and the meticulous care which we associate with the physical scientist, only to find that there were striking analogies between the study of the life that lives and that of the life that is lived.

It could not but be that he should reiterate certain fundamental propositions which were to him essential, but which he felt to be in general intercourse ignored or obscured, either by misconception or by misuse of terms. These are so characteristic of his method that they call for attention here, although in these few pages it is impossible to present more than the merest outline of his message. It was significant of much that at first his chair at the University of Chicago was that of ' Literature in English,' and that afterwards the title should have been altered to ' Literary Theory and Interpretation.' The fusion of the two would furnish an adequate designation of his work, for all the three ideas have their place in it. Literary Interpretation was his mission ; and it was his mission because to him Literature provided the outstanding interpretation of Life. But he drew a very clear line of distinction between Literature in English and English Literature.

[1] *The Study of Literature and the Integration of Knowledge* (*University of Chicago Record*, April, 1912, p. 90).

If the main function of Literature is to interpret Life, then the obligation of studying a Greek play in the original language may prove a serious obstacle in the way of intelligent perception of the subject-matter ; and he was consequently a whole-hearted advocate of the study of the Classics in translations. He had the body of existing opinion against him, and he knew it. The idea was a novel one, and academic thought and practice then tended much more to conservatism than it does now. To propose to dethrone Greek and Latin, and to admit the general public to the treasure-houses of classical literature by a back door seemed to many to be the acme of impiety. But he stood his ground, and gradually wore down the main body of the prejudice against the idea. Writing in 1911, when the idea had vindicated itself and the battle for the wider view was won, he says :

> There is a widespread feeling that the reading of translated literature is a makeshift, and savours of second-hand scholarship. But this idea is itself a product of the departmental study of literature which has prevailed hitherto, in which language and literature have been so inextricably intertwined that it has become difficult to think of the two separately. The idea will not bear rational examination. If a man, instead of reading Homer in Greek, reads him in English, he has unquestionably lost something. But the question arises, Is what he has lost *literature* ? Clearly a great proportion of what goes to make literature has not been lost ; presentation of antique life, swing of epic narrative, conceptions of heroic character and incident, skill of plot, poetical imagery—all these elements of Homeric literature are open to the reader of translations. But, it will be said, language itself is one of the main factors in literature. This is true, but it must be remembered that the term ' language ' covers two different things : a considerable proportion of

> linguistic phenomena is common to related languages and will pass from one to the other, while other elements of language are idiomatic and fixed. What the English reader of Homer has lost is not language, but Greek. And he has not lost the whole of Greek; the skilled translator can convey something of the *ēthos* of idiomatic Greek into his version, writing what may be correct English, but not such English as an Englishman would write. When, however, all abatement has been made, the reader of the translation has suffered a distinct loss; and the classical scholar knows how great that loss is. But the point at issue is not the comparative value of literature and language, but the possibility of realizing literature as a unity. One who accepts the use of translations where necessary secures all factors of literature except language, and a considerable part even of that. One who refuses translations by that fact cuts himself off from the major part of the literary field; his literary scholarship, however polished and precise, can never rise above the provincial.[1]

When, moreover, to such considerations there is added the fact that so many great scholars have contributed to the library of translations from the classics—men such as Jebb, Jowett, Munro, Gilbert Murray, Way, and others—it must be acknowledged that a very strong case has been made out for the effective study of the classics in English. To all these R. G. Moulton could add yet one more argument more cogent than them all—that of experience. The plan had worked: the idea had borne fruit:

> Under the Cambridge University Extension scheme (he writes in 1890) I have since 1880 conducted courses of lectures on Ancient Drama in twenty-six different places, addressed to adult audiences, representing all classes of society, in which not one person in ten would know a word of Greek or Latin. Taking my experience as

[1] *World Literature*, p. 3.

> a whole, I should rank the Ancient Classics second only to Shakespeare and Goethe as an attractive subject for lectures ; and I may add that the largest audiences I have ever myself had to deal with were in connexion with a course on Ancient Tragedy at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where they reached a weekly *average* of over seven hundred. In all these cases a considerable percentage of the audience did regular exercises in the subject of the lectures, and were tested at the end of the course in a formal examination, with results satisfactory enough to assure the position of this study as part of a general English education.[1]

Within this field of literature in English he was wont to form his own categories and distinctions : and the difference between his categories and those of other workers in the same field lies mainly in his stress upon certain implications. Every one admits, for instance, that ' poetry ' and ' poem ' are not conditioned by presentation in verse, but that what is determinative is that poetry betokens creative literature, as distinguished from what is concerned with the exposition or discussion of that which actually exists. But whereas others might often be disposed to note the point, and pass on to use the term in its conventional sense, with R. G. Moulton it determined his whole attitude to the subject. ' The distinction of prose and poetry,' he contends, ' goes down to the essential meaning and matter of literature ' : and, referring to Paul's phrase in Eph. ii, 10, ' We are God's *workmanship* ' (lit. ' *poem* ') he goes on to say :

> As God is the supreme Maker and Creator of the universe, and we are what God has created and made, so the poet is the creator of an imaginary universe, which he fills with imagined personages and incidents. Shakespeare is a poet by virtue of the fact that he has

[1] *The Ancient Classical Drama.* Preface to the first edition.

> created a Hamlet, a Julius Cæsar, a Battle of Agincourt; the Homeric poems create an Achilles, a Trojan War. There may have been an historical Achilles, as there certainly was an historic Julius Cæsar: but the Shakespearean Julius Cæsar, the Homeric Achilles, are independent creations, which may or may not agree with the historic counterparts. Poetry thus adds to the sum of existences; the world is the richer by so many personalities and incidents when the poets have completed their work. In precisely the same way Dickens creates a Micawber and a Pickwick; our novels add to the sum of existences by the imagined life they create. Modern novels, just as much as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are in the fullest sense poetry.[1]

This being the case, our current conception of 'fiction' goes by the board. Instead of being the antithesis to 'fact' and often a term of sheer reproach, it is really 'the higher fact,' because it is the more truly universal. Once more, therefore, we are up against the prevailing unwillingness to recognize the distinction between creative literature and the literature of discussion. The false implication centring in the current conceptions of 'fiction' were often dealt with by him, for they touched some of the principles which were to him most vital; and the importance of the issue in relation to his own literary conceptions may be pleaded in justification of this somewhat prolonged insistence on the point. It will be most satisfactory to state the case in his own words:

> Even in academic thinking (he wrote in 1917), much more in the world outside, we hear a clamour for studies 'founded on fact.' I often wonder what is the exact idea here attached to this word 'fact.' The man in the street has no difficulty about it: fact is truth. But fact is not truth, if for no other reason, because facts

[1] *Modern Study of Literature*, p. 15.

are always particulars, and truth is general; facts are raw material that can be manufactured into truth. But they are also raw material that can be manufactured into falsehood: witness the campaign literature of the wrong political party, monstrously false, yet founded on statistics, and statistics are facts. And particulars which are not facts can have their place in the manufacture of truth or falsehood. The distinction between the particulars we call facts and others is that facts are particulars which happen to have happened: other particulars might, would, must happen under the proper conditions. The distinction is as old as Aristotle, and 'foundation on fact' turns out to be 'foundation on accident.' By a most unfortunate confusion of words the common antithesis to 'fact' is 'fiction.' The two words have no relation to each other: fact is a term of science; fiction is a term of literature. The true antithesis to fiction is the studies that *limit* themselves by facts, whereas fiction admits all relevant particulars. Biography is one of those studies that are supposed to limit themselves by facts. Place side by side a biography and a work of fiction in biographic form, like *Pendennis* or *Esmond*. In the biography the allegiance is to fact; though it contains much of general truth, it also contains a number of unrelated particulars, inserted because they happened to the hero of the story. In the fiction there is no motive for introducing unrelated particulars; it need admit nothing that is not deemed relevant to general truth. The fiction comes out truer than the biography in the sense of containing proportionately more of truth.

But there is another point that is best brought out by analogy. Fiction is the experimental side of the science of life: creative literature is, in the humanities, what experiments are in the natural sciences. For what exactly is scientific experiment? It is a particular kind of observation: observation of material expressly arranged for observation. How would the simplest

> chemical combination be brought home to this audience if the chemist were denied the use of experiment? He must drag his audience away to some place where the particular combination happened to be going on in nature; arrived at the place, he must wait until a change of weather, or something of the kind, should bring about the required atmospheric pressure and electric shock. Instead of this, the expositor of chemistry 'makes up' an experiment:—getting what he wants away from the rest of nature into his chemical apparatus, and by an artificial manipulation of this apparatus bringing about the further conditions. Similarly, the poet or novelist may ignore the irrelevant, and select what of life is calculated to reveal the truth. The analogy is one to be pressed. In all things of the kind there are two stages: the gathering together of data and a reaction from these data. Alike the experimenter of science and the poet or novelist have arbitrary freedom as to what data they may choose to bring together: when the data are assembled, each is a helpless reporter of the reaction that ensues. But, it may be objected, the novelist may report the reaction wrongly. So may the chemist. Controversies arise in science, not from the facts of the experiments being misstated, but because the reactions are wrongly interpreted. The argument is not for any infallibility of fiction; error is a matter of individual performance; but the creative literature stands as a more powerful weapon of research for human life.[1]

I have quoted this passage at length, partly because of its intrinsic value, and partly because it is so characteristic of R. G. Moulton's method of teaching. No one could ever have been less under the tyranny of conventional ideas and distinctions: and an argument of that order and along such lines was calculated to arrest the attention of

[1] *The Study of Literature and the Integration of Knowledge.* *See* pp. 34 and 36 n.

any reasonably earnest audience; and they would be driven, in spite of themselves, to search into these things to see if they were so. The aptness of the analogy could not fail to commend yet further the thesis set forth, with the result that a new germinating thought would have been planted in the minds of the hearers.

This may be a suitable place for turning attention to a very interesting by-product of University Extension for which R. G. Moulton was very largely responsible—the Backworth Classical Novel-Reading Union. Backworth is one of a group of mining villages lying between Newcastle and the Northumbrian coast at Monkseaton. When the University Extension Movement came along, Backworth proved one of those centres which maintained its adherence the most consistently. In the spring of 1890 R. G. Moulton gave a course of lectures there on the Study of Literature, and among other lessons taught was the importance of fiction as a wholesome and educational influence. The course was an extremely successful one; and when the suggestion was thrown out that a society should be formed, the object of which should be the study of classical fiction, the idea was received with great warmth. The plan of operation for the Union was embodied in a circular which ran as follows:

Principle.

Literature is the science of Life; and the great classical novels are among the best text-books of Life. To study these is the true antidote to trashy and poisonous fiction.

Purpose.

The purpose of the Union is to encourage a course of systematic novel-reading, (1) at the rate of a novel a month; (2) to be taken up by ordinary readers and students, the former reading and talking about the novels, the latter meeting to discuss and do work.

Plan of Operation.

(i) A postcard will be sent to every member at the beginning of the month announcing (*a*) the novel chosen for the month ; (*b*) a very brief suggestion from some competent literary authority of some leading points to be kept in view during the reading of the work ; (*c*) the date and business of the first meeting.

(ii) All joining the Union undertake to read during the month the novel selected, and from time to time to endeavour to turn conversation upon it.

(iii) All members are invited to attend, and, if they like, take part in the meetings of the Union. At the same time it is fully recognized that many more will undertake the reading than those able to attend the meetings or do work.

(iv) The business of the meetings will be, (*a*) the reading and discussion of papers (especially upon subjects connected with the suggestions made by the literary authority) ; (*b*) discussion of difficulties or queries started by members ; (*c*) formal debates upon questions arising out of the novel of the month.

Within six weeks the number of members had risen to eighty-seven ; and although it was found necessary to extend the time of consideration from one month to two, and one or two other modifications were made in the scheme, the record of the four years' working, contained in R. G. Moulton's booklet on the subject[1], is one of great intrinsic interest and remarkable success. Among the novels selected during those four years were *Martin Chuzzlewit, Anne of Geierstein, A Tale of Two Cities, Westward Ho!, Vanity Fair, Put Yourself in His Place, Silas Marner, Jane Eyre, Romola, Alton Locke, The Wandering Jew, The Cloister and the Hearth, Ninety-Three,*

[1] *Four Years of Novel-reading : an account of an experiment in popularizing the study of fiction.* Edited by R. G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D. (Isbister & Co., 1895).

Esmond, The Egoist, David Copperfield, Persuasion, The Shadow of the Sword, Lorna Doone, Monte Cristo. The list of those who showed their interest in the enterprise by contributing the ' suggestions ' is in itself noteworthy, for it included Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., the Earl of Suffolk, Prof. A. J. Grant, Mr. (now Sir) Owen Seaman, Mr. W. E. Norris, Mr. G. Lowes Dickenson, Mr. J. H. Shorthouse, Sir Courtenay Boyle, and Mr. Stanley Weyman. That such an enterprise should spring up in such a constituency affords a striking testimony to the nature of the field in which University Extension has worked.

When we turn to the nature of his work in this field of creative literature in English, we find at once that his demarcation between language and literature—already referred to in connexion with the study of the Classics in English translations—reappears under somewhat different conditions. It has already been pointed out that in his opinion the loss entailed was not in the sphere of literature but of Greek—and only partial there. But in his method of approach to the masterpieces of English Literature we find that what is pre-eminently distinctive of his treatment is that the subject-matter is so exclusively viewed from the standpoint of literature rather than of language or history. No one would desire to belittle the value of the normal type of text-book on, for example, a Shakespeare play, in that it carefully discusses the probable historical basis of the play, its date, its relation to other works by the same author, its vocabulary and idiosyncrasies. All such treatment may contribute to the better understanding of the work, and R. G. Moulton would have been ready to accord full recognition to existing text-books in respect of what they set out to do, although he would demur to regard that type of study as being the study of literature, in that it stopped short of the ' criticism of life.' More-

over, from the first he stood out for the proposition that there is *an inductive science of literary criticism*.

> As botany deals inductively with the phenomena of vegetable life and traces the laws underlying them, as economy reviews and systematizes on inductive principles the facts of commerce, so there is a criticism not less inductive in character which has for its subject-matter literature.[1]

This was the determining factor in all his work, the nerve-centre of his whole scheme of literary study and exposition. This very fruitful line of study he pursued into new fields, with the result that to thousands of students, of all grades, he made literature a new thing altogether with a new ' worth-whileness.' It was in April, 1885, that he issued his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, with its highly characteristic introductory essay, entitled ' A Plea for an Inductive Science of Literary Criticism.' He had already been teaching along those lines for more than ten years in University Extension centres throughout England with very marked success : and he was constantly verifying his hypotheses and finding them to be even more widely true than he had imagined at the first. It was the nature of this insistence on the inductive method and the wide scope of its application that differentiated him from other exponents of literature. Reference has already been made to his earnest deprecation of all association of praise and blame with the term ' criticism ' ; and here he makes abundantly clear the reasons for the faith that was in him.

This ' Introduction ' to his first book may fairly be regarded in the light of an ' Introduction ' to his life-work, a manifesto as to the message he had to deliver, and did deliver throughout his whole career : and it is worthy of

[1] *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, p. 1.

notice that the last sentence of his farewell oration to the University of Chicago, when he laid down his office in June, 1919, was a quotation from Bacon, the great pioneer of the inductive method. It will therefore be profitable to follow him in his argument in this 'Introduction' in preference to setting forth any estimates of my own as to his position in relation to what was to him so vital a matter in the study of literature.

After beginning by entering his 'plea' in the words quoted above, he calls attention to the two conceptions of literary criticism, centring as they do in the difference between the functions of the *judge* and the *investigator*:

> The one is the inquiry into *what ought to be*, the other the inquiry into *what is*. Judicial criticism compares a new production with those already existing in order to determine whether it is inferior to them or surpasses them; criticism of investigation makes the same comparison for the purpose of identifying the new product with some type in the past, or differentiating it and registering a new type. Judicial criticism has a mission to watch against variations from received canons; criticism of investigation watches for new forms to increase its stock of species. The criticism of taste analyses literary works for grounds of preference or evidence on which to found judgements; inductive criticism analyses them to get a closer acquaintance with their phenomena.

The gist of the whole matter is there; and no further words are needed to enforce the distinction as a principle of literary study; but it would be easy to go further and enforce its importance in the field of ethics also. Later we shall see how essentially this conception of criticism is bound up with the whole of R. G. Moulton's disposition and outlook on life. Which was cause and which was effect: did the temperament give birth to the attitude to

criticism, or did the attitude to literature project itself into wider fields? I do not know, and it would be futile to speculate. All I do know is that the result was a singularly harmonious whole; and that on returning to these early professions of his literary faith one is constantly made to feel how much they are like *him*.

How this distinction works in actual experience he shows by a concrete example. He takes the example of Ben Jonson, who, according to certain judicial critics, is responsible for the decay of the English drama:

> Inductive criticism takes objection to the word 'decay' as suggesting condemnation, but recognizes Ben Jonson as the beginner of a new tendency in our dramatic history.
>
> But, judicial criticism insists, the object of the Drama is to portray human nature, whereas Ben Jonson has painted not men but caricatures.
>
> Induction sees that this formula cannot be a sufficient definition of the Drama, for the simple reason that it does not take in Ben Jonson; its own mode of putting the matter is that Ben Jonson has founded a school of treatment of which the law is caricature.
>
> But Ben Jonson's caricatures are palpably impossible.
>
> Induction soon satisfies itself that their point lies in their impossibility; they constitute a new mode of portraying qualities of character, not by resemblance, but by analysing and intensifying contrasts to make them clearer.
>
> Judicial criticism can see how the poet was led astray; the bent of his disposition induced him to sacrifice dramatic propriety to his satiric purpose.
>
> Induction has another way of putting the matter: that the poet has utilized dramatic form for satiric purpose; thus by the 'cross-fertilization' of two existing literary species he has added to literature a third including features of both.

At all events, judicial criticism will maintain, it must be admitted that the Shakespearean mode of portraying is infinitely the higher: a sign-painter, as Macaulay points out, can imitate a deformity of feature, while it takes a great artist to bring out delicate shades of expression.

Inductive treatment knows nothing about higher or lower, which lie outside the domain of science. Its point is that science is indebted to Ben Jonson for a new species; if the new species be an easier form of art it does not on that account lose its claim to be analysed.

The critic of merit can always fall back upon taste: who would not prefer Shakespeare to Ben Jonson?

But even from this point of view scientific treatment can plead its own advantages. The inductive critic reaps to the full the interest of Ben Jonson, to which the other has been forcibly closing his eyes; while, so far from liking Shakespeare the less, he appreciates all the more keenly Shakespeare's method of treatment from his familiarity with that which is its antithesis.

Even the most hardened adherent of the old order will admit that this little bit of dialectical warfare succeeds in establishing for inductive criticism not only a right to exist but a very good case for itself. This is further reinforced by the reminder that the judicial spirit is a 'barrier to appreciation, as being opposed to that delicacy of receptiveness which is a first condition of sensibility to impressions of literature and art.' If a passing mood, or uncomfortable surroundings may—and do—induce unfavourable estimates, just as the converse may induce favourable ones, does it not stand to reason that a preconceived idea of the inadmissibility of the work under consideration precludes a true vision of that work?

It is a foundation principle in art-culture, as well as in human intercourse, that *sympathy is the grand*

interpreter : secrets of beauty will unfold themselves to the sunshine of sympathy, while they will wrap themselves all the closer against the tempest of sceptical questionings.

The whole history of criticism has been a triumph of authors over critics, and this has been true alike with reference to music and literature. It is needless to waste time and space in vindicating a proposition which to-day is recognized as beyond discussion : and, after all, the only aspect of the matter which concerns us is that the discomfiture of critics at the bar of experience is an overwhelming proof that the criticism centring in taste—which must be intensely subjective and therefore variable—cannot be taken as fulfilling the function of literary criticism in affording an insight into the interpretation of life.

Having thus performed the negative portion of his task, R. G. Moulton sets himself to demonstrate the adequacy of inductive treatment for filling the place for which the criticism of taste has been found wanting. He is ready to admit at once that the difficulty of applying the inductive method to literature lies in the fact that instead of ascertained facts we have to face ' details which leave conflicting impressions on different observers.' But, as he points out, in the first place this difficulty is by no means peculiar to literature, and instances the case of psychology : it may be noted that, in the forty years that have elapsed since he wrote, the element of variability has in no sense checked the development of an inductive science which has perhaps made more remarkable advance than any other in our time. In the second place, he contends that

Interpretation in literature is of the nature of a scientific hypothesis, the truth of which is tested by the degree of completeness with which it explains the details of the

literary work as they actually stand. That will be the true meaning of a passage, not which is the most worthy, but which most nearly explains the words as they are ; that will be the true reading of a character which, however involved in expression or tame in effect, accounts for and reconciles all that is represented of the personage. The inductive critic will interpret a complex situation, not by fastening attention on its striking elements and ignoring others as oversights and blemishes, but by putting together with business-like exactitude all that the author has given, weighing, balancing, and standing by the product. He will not consider that he has solved the action of a drama by some leading plot, or some central idea powerfully suggested in different parts, but will investigate patiently until he can find a scheme which will give point to the inferior as well as to the leading scenes, and in connexion with which all the details are harmonized in their proper proportions.

Of course R. G. Moulton was well aware of the kind of indictment which was bound to be brought against such an attitude to creative literature, on the ground that it credits the author with far more of purpose than he dreamed of, and with complicated effects and recondite designs which formed no part of his conscious plan. His answer would be that ' in science the " purpose " of a thing is the purpose it actually serves and is discoverable only by analysis ' : and that ' in this usage alone can the words " purpose," " intention " be properly applied to literature and art : science knows no kind of evidence in the matter of creative purpose so weighty as the thing it has actually produced.' One outcome of such a position is that of necessity the ' order-of-merit criticism ' is placed out of court at once, for the conclusive reason that ' inductive criticism is concerned with differences of kind as distinguished from differences of degree,' and has therefore no concern with orders of merit but only with

literary species ; and in that contention he had on his side one no less than Wordsworth, who had maintained that each fresh poet is to be tried by fresh canons of taste. The traditional method of criticism had proceeded on the assumption that there were definite laws of art, and that acceptance or rejection was conditioned by conformity with those laws. But 'law' is used in two perfectly distinct senses, and the confusion between the two is responsible for much of the misunderstanding as to the function of criticism. In the moral and political sense laws are conditioned by a ruler or legislative authority :

> In scientific laws the law-giver and the law-obeyer are one and the same, and for the laws of vegetation science looks no further than the facts of the vegetable world. In literature and art the term 'law' applies only in the scientific sense ; the laws of the Shakespearean drama are not laws imposed by some external authority upon Shakespeare, but laws of dramatic practice derived from the analysis of his actual works.

Thus he contends that

> In inductive criticism, as in the other inductive sciences, the word 'fault' has no meaning. If an artist acts contrary to the practice of all other artists, the result is either that he produces no art-effect at all, in which case there is nothing for criticism to register and analyse, or else he produces a new effect, and is thus extending, not breaking, the laws of art.

In the book which was introduced by this plea for the recognition of an inductive science of literary criticism he exhibits the method in actual operation on the dramatic analysis of certain plays. In a Table setting forth the

leading topics of dramatic criticism the heads of the larger groupings are given (in the first edition) as follows :

CHARACTER.	Single Character-Interest or Character-Interpretation Complex Character-Interest Character Development
PASSION.	Single Passion-Interest Complex Passion-Interest or Passion-Tone Movement (Motive Force)
PLOT.	Single Action Complex Action Movement (Motive Form)

In the light of this scheme of topics the titles of the twelve studies which form the bulk of the book will evoke no surprise. Take these by way of example :

I. The Two Stories Shakespeare borrows for his 'Merchant of Venice.'
A Study in the Raw Material of the Romantic Drama.

IV. 'Richard III.' : A Picture of Ideal Villainy.
A Study in Character-Interpretation.

V. 'Richard III.' : How Shakespeare weaves Nemesis into History.
A Study in Plot.

IX. How the play of 'Julius Cæsar' works up to a climax at the centre.
A Study in Passion and Movement.

This is not the place for attempting to set forth R. G. Moulton's teaching in relation to any particular literary masterpiece, but only to indicate the method of treatment pursued and the topics which constituted, in his opinion,

the subject-matter on which the inductive science of literary criticism was employed. What has been said will have been enough to serve this purpose, and also to prepare the way for reference to the width of the field he covered. If the exposition has been in terms of Shakespearean drama, that is only because in his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* he first enunciated the foundation principles of those methods of study and interpretation which—thirty years later—we find completely and categorically expounded in *The Modern Study of Literature.* In the meantime the same scientific treatment had been followed in books dealing with certain groups of literary masterpieces. These books—*The Ancient Classical Drama, The Literary Study of the Bible, Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker,* and *World Literature*—he describes in 1915 as ' discussions of particular principles in application to special literary fields.'[1]

As has been already indicated, the field over which R. G. Moulton pursued his method of literary study was extraordinarily wide and varied ; and a mere catalogue of his lecture-subjects affords material for thought and reflection. But it will be conducive to definiteness of idea if the survey is confined, to begin with at any rate, to what he calls the ' Literary Bibles ' of the world :

> The great religions of the world rest each on its sacred books ; it seems not improper to extend a word familiar in this connexion to collections of works holding a somewhat analogous position in the purely literary field. In its full conception, the word ' bible ' combines wide range of literature with high significance of matter and some sense of literary unity ; it further suggests a process of selection already accomplished by evolution, a survival of the spiritually fittest. Viewing universal literature from our English standpoint,

[1] Preface to *The Modern Study of Literature,* p. viii.

it appears to me that five such Literary Bibles may be recognized. The first is of course the *Holy Bible:* this comprehends in its completeness one out of our two ancestral literatures. For the other ancestral literature, the Hellenic, we may, I think, make an approach to such representation—but only an approach —by a particular combination of Classical Epic and Tragedy, a combination which will give us a unity, and will include the Classical literature which has most powerfully influenced the poetry of succeeding ages. Again, from the English point of view, the unique position held by Shakespeare suggests a third Literary Bible.[1] We may attain a fourth if we place side by side, as two elements of an antithesis, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante and the *Paradise Lost* of Milton—the supreme expression, respectively, of Mediæval Catholicism and the Renaissance Protestantism. Once more, it is interesting to note how the Story of Faust, welling up from the fountain of mediæval legend, has attracted the highest minds of the modern world, leading to successive literary presentations of the same theme varied in their poetic dress, and still more contrasted in the underlying philosophy ; these Versions of the Faust Story will constitute a fifth Literary Bible.[2]

Such being his attitude towards these five fields of World Literature, it is not surprising that they bulked exceedingly large in his public work, both within the University

[1] R. G. Moulton would have read with the deepest interest Dr. C. H. Herford's paper, in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library for Jan., 1925, on the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent. Although written from a different angle, it substantiates his contentions as to World Literature, and of Shakespeare's place in it. One can quite imagine his saying of Shakespeare that the history of his influence was ' part of the history of Europe, of the history of civilization, of the history of the process by which the entire complex of modern belief and ideals were evolved ; processes in which the work of Shakespeare was not merely an accompanying circumstance but a contributing factor.' (p. 20).

[2] *World Literature*, p. 53.

and in University Extension classes, in England and America alike. They gave him the outstanding examples of the points which he desired to make, although he found in all the literatures of the world, and drew from all ages, confirmation and illustration of the main principles. It was on Shakespeare that he worked out his conception of inductive science of criticism in the first instance, and to Shakespeare he never tired of returning—and neither did his audiences. His treatment of the Ancient Classical Drama as a subject for lecture courses was completely vindicated by its power to hold audiences of widely different types—in University Extension courses ; in University classes and in University lectures 'open to the public' ; in exclusive Literary Clubs and important gatherings of teachers, &c. Faust satisfied him best when he could give a whole course of ten or twelve lectures to the subject, though he very often would give an exceedingly effective single lecture on it, in which case he confined his attention to Marlowe's *Faustus*. Perhaps the fourth of the Literary Bibles occupied him less in his public work than the other four ; and the reason may well have been that he felt very strongly the supreme advantage of linking the two works —which was not easy, unless time was no object !

> Dante's great poem gains infinitely if it be read in antithesis with the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. . . . In their two great works these poets are not treating special themes ; each is giving his poetic construction of the sum of things as seen by him. And each is fully equipped for the task. The two poems then will differ according to the two ages they are reflecting ; and these two ages are ancestral periods in our own mental history. What makes the combination of the *Divine Comedy* and the *Paradise Lost* into a literary bible is that they give us complete revelation in creative poetry of supplementary stages through which our own

> literary evolution has passed; they enable us to think the thoughts of the men of those times, to look upon the universe with their mental attitudes, to live over again for a moment their sympathies and antipathies, to shape the appearances and impressions of things as these seemed to eyes that at the time actually looked upon them.[1]

If Dante is the prophet of the Middle Ages, and his poem the 'representation of Catholicism in high literature,'[2] then it is equally true that Milton 'represents in himself the whole range of the Renaissance; he is the best type of classical scholar, and he is the best type of Puritanism.'[3] These propositions R. G. Moulton worked out with great elaborateness, and succeeded in giving a new interest to *Paradise Lost*. This gist of his argument is to be seen in the fourth chapter of his *World Literature*.

It is not at all surprising that the Faust story should have attracted one who had so keen a sense of the dramatic as R. G. Moulton: and certainly few of his literary interpretations have left so vivid an impression on the minds of his hearers as his presentation of that story. As one of his Faust audiences was passing out of the hall after the lecture, two appreciations happened to be uttered within five minutes in the hearing of one member of the class. 'It's the best sermon I ever heard.' 'It's as good as going to the theatre!' The two criticisms are in no sense antithetic or mutually exclusive: they only witness to an interpretation which was an arresting 'criticism of life,' in regard to an issue of transcendent spiritual importance. How could it be otherwise?

> Reduced to its lowest terms, the Story of Faust is an attempt to realize in concrete life one of the simplest verses of Scripture: What shall it profit a man if he

[1] *World Literature*, p. 179. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 180. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

> gain the whole world and lose his soul? Familiarity has dulled the edge of this biblical aphorism; if we press its language, the short verse is seen to involve three ideas of colossal import, alike to the thinker and the poetic interpreter of life. First: What is it to gain the whole world? The gain of a fortune or a kingdom is enough for most stories; the gaining of the whole world tasks the imagination to its depths to find for it any visible form in which it can be intelligibly embodied. Again, it is a sufficiently serious question, What is it to lose the soul? But a third stumbling-block to the imagination lurks in the word 'profit': the conception of barter, gain and loss, the machinery of the market, in association with such ideas as the world and the soul.[1]

The many-sidedness of the story, which, as R. G. Moulton says, has come down to us from the floating literature of the Middle Ages, when it was natural to men to do their thinking in story form, is forcibly brought home by his exposition of the different channels of approach by Marlowe, Calderon, Goethe, and Bailey—whose *Festus* he valued very highly, in which judgement he stands supported by Tennyson. This is not the place for even outlining his exposition of these various presentations of the great central theme. My only concern is to outline the subject-matter upon which he based, in the main, his teaching as to Literature as a criticism of Life.

[1] *World Literature*, p. 221.

CHAPTER IV.

The Literary Study of the Bible.

I HAVE, of set purpose, abstained so far from any reference to R. G. Moulton's work on the literary study of the Bible, which bulked so large in the last thirty years of his teaching career, and by which he came to be known perhaps more widely than by anything else. Even in his undergraduate days he had a great interest in the literary side of the Bible, and in the eighties certain very pronounced ideas began to take shape in his mind concerning Bible literature viewed solely from the point of view of literary considerations, as distinct from the devotional or theological. It was not that he sat loosely to these things or belittled the spiritual significance of Holy Scripture. Far from it; but he felt strongly that there was another angle of approach which had been strangely neglected, and which had its own contribution to bring to the understanding of the Books; and that they were of a character to respond to inductive methods of literary criticism as were other masterpieces. Moreover, through a wide acceptance and use of the inductive literary method of interpretation he could see the ultimate removal of many causes of dissension. It was with such convictions as these that he threw himself into the great piece of work involved in the investigation of Biblical literary forms, and the incorporation of his results in *The Literary Study of the Bible* and *The Modern Reader's Bible*. Of course scholars had long realized that the Bible is made up of

works in various literary forms, and the reflection of certain discoveries in successive versions of the whole or of particular parts had brought nearer the time when an attempt might be made at a full presentation of the Books with due regard to literary structure. The event, however, of largest importance in this connexion was the completion of the work of the English revisers, which thus made generally available a version of the Bible and the Apocrypha in which—among many important changes—the distinction between verse and prose is recognized, and continuity of thought is restored in parts where it had been obscured in the earlier versions. But it was left for R. G. Moulton to carry these ideas to altogether new and far-reaching conclusions: and having done so, he 'brought them down from the study to the street'—to borrow the expressive phrase of Bacon.

Three main convictions dominated him in relation to this Bible literature: (i) That the Bible is the peer of the classics of Greece and Rome as *literature*, quite independently of all questions as to the admission of its supernatural character and authority. (ii) That the traditional *presentation* of the Bible is fatal to any adequate appreciation of its literary character. (iii) That a due recognition of literary forms in Bible literature is in the highest degree conducive to the fuller understanding of its message.

To him it was self-evident that the literatures inspired by the Hellenic and Hebraic spirits were 'the ancestral literatures of our modern English culture,' and that 'he who is content to leave the Bible unstudied stands convicted as a half-educated man.'[1] He was prepared, moreover, to maintain this position quite without reference to historical criticism on the one hand or religious scepticism on the other. Literary appreciation is

[1] *World Literature*, pp. 26, 98.

concerned with the 'what' and not with the 'how' of literature; and for the purpose which he had immediately in hand, no questions of inspiration, revelation, or critical analysis of sources came under consideration. But he felt more strongly than most how hopeless it was to expect any recognition of this outstanding excellence of Bible literature until it was presented with some adequate regard to literary form. This twin sense, so to speak, of the supreme literary qualities of the Bible, and of the misleading character of its presentation, grew upon him and became one of the great determining influences of his career. In 1917, after about thirty years of close application to the literary study of the Bible, and having seen the subject at work in the minds of vastly varied audiences on both sides of the Atlantic, he writes:

> Literature necessarily involves specific literary forms —epic, lyric, drama, essay, history, oratory, and the like: these literary forms are the key to literary interpretation. In the case of the Bible, these literary forms were swept out of existence in the centuries which separate us from the original authors of biblical literature. The story is a simple one, yet seems to be little known. We live in an age in which the printed page reflects so exactly variations of form that we need to give as little attention to form as to the attraction of gravitation. We are likely to forget that manuscripts of all languages prior to about the first or second century of the Christian era were wholly destitute of form: pages covered with alphabetical letters not divided into words, still less into sentences, with no divisions of speeches in dialogue or names of speakers, or differences of verse and prose. In manuscripts of this kind all literary forms, from straightforward narrative to brilliant dialogue, would look exactly alike. But a difference arises. Greek or Indian manuscripts were in the hands of literary men, who in spite of the manuscripts were keenly sensitive to

niceties of form : when the advance came in the art of writing that made the written page vary with the form, the form these men gave to their literature was its proper form, Homer coming out as epic, Sophocles as drama. But at the corresponding period the Bible was in the custody of men who were anything but literary: scribes and rabbis to whom the Bible was material for commentary, each clause a subject for disquisition, as we know that the shortest text may begin the longest sermon. Accordingly, when the advance in the art of writing reached them, the form they gave to their Bible was that of numbered texts for comment, and in this form of texts for comment it has come down to us. Thus modern Bibles are a misrepresentation of the real Bible ; a double misrepresentation, at once lacking the literary forms of song or dialogue essential for interpretation, and stamping the whole with the appearance of numbered texts and chapters which does not belong to the original literature, but was the creation of mediæval commentators. . . .

Scholars, it will be said, know better. They do ; but here arises the second of the revolutionary accidents. The modern vivification of method struck the study of history a full generation before it struck the study of literature. Hence, in the case of the Bible, the historic analysis which goes below the literary surface of Scripture to the earlier documents from which much of it was compiled. This ' higher criticism ' has achieved great results in its proper province, which is Semitic history : its effect on literature has been unfortunate, as diverting general culture from literature to history, and favouring what is a besetting temptation of the study of literature at all times—the temptation to substitute the study of literary origins, which is one thing, for the study of the literature itself, which is another thing altogether.

Of course, the matter of this Bible has always engrossed the general mind ; it has worked wonders and laid the

foundations of our modern spiritual life. Unfortunately, it has gone farther than this : it has also laid the foundation of the theological and ecclesiastical systems that confront each other in intrenched camps. And the effect of this—if we may interpret men's minds by their actions—is as if it were said : ' Rather than let biblical literature be taught by followers of the wrong orthodoxy, let us leave it out of higher education altogether ! ' This is the third of the external obstructions in the way of literary study. . . . .

In view of all this it becomes necessary to insist at every opportunity that there can be no true study of literature in the foundation of which biblical does not stand on equal terms with classical literature. The culture of our modern world, notwithstanding its self-complacency, needs reminding that it is in truth only a half-baked culture, affecting the language of breadth and completeness when all the while a major factor in its evolution has been altogether ignored.[1]

He gives a striking illustration of this in his Preface to his *Modern Reader's Bible.* He presents Hosea xiv, 5–8 in three different forms : (i) after the fashion of the ancient manuscript ; (ii) after the fashion of the Authorized Version ; (iii) in accordance with literary form :

(i)

I WI L L BE A S T HE DE WU N T O I S R A E L
HE S HA L L B L O S S O M A S T HE L I L Y A N
D C A S T F O R T H H I S R O O T S A S L E B A N
O N HI S B R A N C HE S S HA L L S P R E A D A
N D HI S B E A U T Y S HA L L B E A S T HE O L
I VE T R E E A N D HI S S M E L L A S L E B A N
O N T HE Y T HA T D WE L L U N D E R HI S S H
A D O WS HA L L R E T U R N T HE Y S HA L L R
E V I VE A S T HE C O R N A N D B L O S S O M A
S T HE V I N E T HE S C E N T T HE R E O F S H

[1] *Study of Literature and the Integration of Knowledge.* *See* p. 42.

A L L B E A S T H E W I N E O F L E B A N O N E P
H R A I M S H A L L S A Y W H A T H A V E I T O D
O A N Y M O R E W I T H I D O L S I H A V E A N S
W E R E D A N D W I L L R E G A R D H I M I A M L
I K E A G R E E N F I R T R E E F R O M M E I S T
H Y F R U I T F O U N D

(ii)

5. I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall blossom as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon.

6. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon.

7. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and blossom as the vine: the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.

8. Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have answered, and will regard him: I am like a green fir tree; from me is thy fruit found.

(iii)

A Dramatic Dialogue between Jehovah and Ephraim.

The Lord.

I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall blossom as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and blossom as the vine: the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.

Ephraim.

What have I to do any more with idols?

The Lord.

I have answered, and will regard him.

Ephraim.

I am like a green fir tree.

The Lord.

From me is thy fruit found.

The recognition and presentation of the various literary forms in the Bible enabled him to impart a new vividness and reality to familiar tracts of Scripture. Take, for example, his exposition of the dramatic element in the Old Testament. Drama is not looked for in Hebrew literature because the Hebrew people had no theatre. But that simply means that the dramatic instinct, common to humanity, found a different channel of expression; and, indeed, succeeded in permeating all forms of literature. He was able to show how, especially in the rhapsodic outbursts of the prophets,

> the workings of Divine Providence are made to pass before the mental eye with all the intensity of dramatic movement. The actors of these spiritual scenes include God, the Celestial Hosts, the Nations of the earth, Israel or Zion personified, the Watchmen of Jerusalem bearing tidings from abroad; with less of personality Voices carry on the dialogue, Voices of the Saved or the Doomed, Voices from the East and the West, Cries from the Hills of Ephraim or from outside the Holy Land; impersonal songs break in at intervals, like chorales in modern oratorio, to spiritually celebrate the action that is passing. The changing scenes are beheld in vision, or described by the prophetic spectator. The movement may be successive stages of advancing doom, changing, as in *Joel*, into equally regular stages of salvation. Or it may be sudden: the sight of the Chaldeans stalking triumphant through the earth gives place to the sound from the distant future of the victims triumphing over Chaldea's fall; the pall of destruction is rent to display the mountain of salvation bright with

> sunshine and song. Of course such spiritual scenes are less easy to follow than the drama of ordinary life that can realize itself upon a visible stage. But what is lost in simplicity is less than what is gained in the wide reaches of spiritual movement and solemnity of import. Perhaps the dramatic masterpiece of universal literature is the ' Rhapsody of Zion Redeemed,' which makes the latter half of our book of *Isaiah*.[1]

These conceptions of the Bible he was wont to set forth in lectures and in what he styled ' interpretative recitals ' ; and there was no shadow of doubt as to whether there was a demand for that kind of treatment. From the very moment that he began to offer courses of lectures along those lines there was an eager and increasing interest manifested in the subject. Reference has already been made to his practice of blending the lecture and the recital for the purpose of interpreting a Greek play, even presenting the whole of the Trilogy of Æschylus in a two hours' lecture-recital. He now applied the same method of treatment to portions of the Bible, and probably no single achievement of his awakened more widespread admiration than his presentation of the Book of *Job*. Mingled narration, interpretation, and recitation brought the whole book within the compass of an hour's lecture, without the loss of anything essential to its understanding : and Dr. Holland Rose does not use extravagant language of eulogy when he speaks of ' audiences enthralled and uplifted by this literary magician.' The same was true of his presentation of the ' Rhapsody of Zion Redeemed ' and of *Deuteronomy*.

But it was on his *Modern Reader's Bible* that R. G. Moulton mainly relied for the furtherance of these views concerning the presentation of the Bible. His lectures in the early nineties and the publication of *The Literary*

[1] *World Literature*, pp. 66, 67.

Study of the Bible in 1895 had increased interest in the subject; and how this led to the working out in detail of the principles then laid down is told in his *How to Read the Bible:* the various extensions of the plan made to meet the needs and wishes of teachers and particular classes of students are also indicated:

> The initiation of what subsequently became *The Modern Reader's Bible* was in a letter from the President of the Macmillan Co. of New York (Hon. George P. Bret) to the present Editor, who in a recent work of his had discussed the question of presenting Scripture to the eye in conformity with the printed page of modern books. . . .
>
> The Macmillan Company, by way of experiment, published in succession four small volumes, representing the Books of Wisdom in the Bible (and Apocrypha). Literary Introductions and Notes were furnished by the Editor. The reception was so far encouraging that the series of small volumes was gradually extended to take in the whole of the Bible—twenty-one volumes in all. The series, which had commenced in 1895, was completed in 1898. Later (in 1907) the contents of the twenty-one volumes were put together in the one-volume edition of the *Modern Reader's Bible.* Adaptation of the material for young people furnished three more of the small volumes. . . . It may be added that, recently, an important variation of the main work has appeared in *The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools*, in two volumes of New Testament (1920) and Old Testament (1922). The term 'schools' must be understood to include educational institutions, elementary or advanced; and in what was put forward as an educational work it has seemed legitimate to employ, with caution, the expository device of abridgement. This *Modern Reader's Bible for Schools* is an 'Abridged Bible.'[1]

[1] *How to read the Bible*, pp. 23–25.

The nature of this work will have been inferred from what has already been said about the misrepresentation of the Books of the Bible in our traditional versions. Without making an attempt in the matter of altered translations it

> presents to the eye each part of the Bible in its proper literary form and detailed structure ; doing thus for the sacred Scriptures what, as a matter of course, is done for all other literature, ancient and modern, by the arrangement of the printed page.[1]

While there are only slight deviations from the Revised Version, and no attempt at exegesis, there is a degree of modification in respect of the order in which the books are placed, the purpose being to make more clear to the reader the spiritual unity of the Bible as ' the autobiography of our holy religion.' This he expressed in a single sentence when he described the Bible as ' A Drama in two Acts, with an Interlude.'

> Act I. The Old Testament : A Covenant between God and a Chosen People. A National Theocracy.
>
> Interlude. The Wisdom Literature : Devout Meditation on Human Life.
>
> Act II. The New Testament : A Covenant between God and Individual Hearts. The Kingdom of God within us.

It is not surprising that, with such a conception of Biblical literature, he should stress the importance of reading a book at a sitting. No one would dream of underrating the value of exegesis for the appreciation of the Bible, particularly in respect of its presentation of doctrinal truth : but it must always be remembered that the exegetical method, with its constant pauses over details and

[1] *How to read the Bible*, p. 21.

its dependence upon annotations and the like, is fatal to the acquisition of a sense of perspective. As he puts it himself:

> Two different modes of exegesis invite the student: one studies the whole in the light of the details, the other the details in the light of the whole. The first is the method of commentators: they seek to come to close quarters with each successive clause, and concentrate upon it light from all departments of investigation, confident that to master the details is to know the whole. . . The interpreter of the other kind takes his stand at such a distance that the whole work can be surveyed at once: he sweeps over the whole ground again and again, and yet again; at first with imperfect grasp and a sense of much that is passed over unexplained, yet with each repetition finding more and more resolve into the common unity, while from first to last he has been keeping firm hold of that foundation element of true thoroughness which we call perspective. Undoubtedly the best scholarship will keep side by side the exegesis of perspective and the exegesis of detail: but in the present condition of biblical study, in which concentration on 'verses' has almost smothered perception of literary 'works,' there is no question that it is the rapid survey of whole books that needs emphasizing.[1]

The very high place which he assigned to 'The Rhapsody of Zion Redeemed,'[2] which was his designation for Isaiah xl–lxvi, calls for a measure of attention to be given to it here as a literary type, and his treatment of it as characteristic of his method of inductive analysis. The importance of it lies partly in the fact that it is wrapped up with his whole conception of the dramatic in literature. He frequently stressed the point that whereas Hebrew

[1] *The Modern Reader's Bible*, p 1507
[2] *Literary Study of the Bible*, p. 435; *World Literature*, pp. 66, 82–4.

literature has not developed a separate and distinct drama; yet

> as if to compensate for this, the dramatic impulse is found in Hebrew to invade other regions of literature, including such departments as might have seemed most impervious to it. The current finding no channel has spread and diffused itself. The reader of the Bible knows that he will find in it no acted play like the plays of Shakespeare. But on the other hand he will find lyric poems specially dramatic in tone, and in *Solomon's Song* a lyric idyll that impresses some of its readers as a complete drama. He will find, again, philosophy taking a dramatic shape. In the Book of *Job* the dramatic form reaches an intensity not exceeded in any literature; yet even here there is no independent drama, but the dramatized discussion is made to rest on a basis of epic story. What is still more surprising, the discourses of prophecy are found to be leavened by the dramatic spirit, and that most concentrated form of Hebrew prophecy which will in this work be called the Rhapsody is pre-eminent in the closeness with which it approaches to drama.[1]

We are therefore challenged to reconsider our conception of drama as being of necessity conditioned by presentation on the stage. True, it is a literary form in which action predominates; but, as R. G. Moulton was fond of saying, the dramatic movement of the Bible has for its stage the whole universe, for its period all time; God is the Hero of this drama, and its plot is Divine Providence. It may be claimed, perhaps, that nowhere does his treatment of Bible literature make a richer contribution to interpretation than here; for although his presentation of the Book of *Job* aroused most attention and called forth most admiration, yet his presentation of Isaiah xl–lxvi may be

[1] *The Literary Study of the Bible*, pp. 108–9.

said to have been more characteristic, more far-reaching, more effective—because more necessary—as a vindication of the value of the study of literary form. The greater necessity arises from the difficulty of arriving at a conception of unity for the whole work, while no one can be insensible to the wondrous charm and power of its several parts. The Rhapsody, which, while partaking of the nature of all literary forms, is tied down to none of them, has therefore peculiar advantages of its own for the presentation of a theme which marks an advance, but one in which the movement is not steady or uniform, there being oft-recurrent alternation of the *motifs* of judgement and salvation. The advance presents itself in seven Visions, not successive entirely, but partly concurrent and partly successive, but each one needing to be exhibited before the action is consummated. The seven ' visions ' he differentiates are as follows:

i.
The Servant of Jehovah Delivered from Bondage.

ii.
The Servant of Jehovah Awakened.

iii.
Zion Awakened.

iv.
The Servant of Jehovah Exalted.

v.
Zion Exalted.

vi.
Redemption at Work in Zion.

vii.
The Day of Judgement.

Note that the sixth (for example) cannot be set down categorically as either preceding or following those standing before it, but it embraces the whole action looked at from a particular point of view.

After a Prelude in which Voices alike of Good Tidings and of Despondency are heard, the first of the Visions comes on the scene :

> The nations are summoned to appear before the bar of God, who challenges the idols ' to declare former things, to show things to come ' ; in other words, to put an interpretation upon the whole course of events from first to last. Clearly it is a Divine philosophy of history that we are receiving in dramatic form. When the idols are dumb, Jehovah's interpretation is given. He proclaims Israel as His servant : the service is to bring the nations under His law. But not by violence : the bruised reed he shall not break, the smoking flax he shall not quench, yet he must be preserved until he has brought light to the Gentiles. When the interrupting outburst of exultation has died away, the proclamation continues : this servant is blind and deaf, has for his sins fallen into the prison-house of the nations ; the conquering career of Cyrus has brought deliverance, and there comes forth a blind servant that hath eyes, a deaf servant that hath ears. Two ideas are thus presented. One is simple : the restoration to Israel of its sense of its Divine mission ; a subsequent scene makes this Israel a witness to the nations, inviting the peoples of the world to enter into the commonwealth of Israel. The other is an idea that we read with ever increasing wonder : in this ancient biblical book is enshrined, with most powerful poetic setting, the thought which twenty following centuries of religious war and persecution failed to grasp, the idea that in the spiritual world physical force is powerless ; by agencies gentle as the light may a world be conquered for God. As the drama continues, a

change seems to come over the central figure: the servant of Jehovah from a nation becomes a personality that can suffer martyrdom; yet again it becomes a mystic personality whose sufferings are at last recognized by the nations as vicarious. Another scene pictures a moral chaos: at the point of extremity Jehovah himself resolves to bring salvation. As the strains of the hymn to Redeemed Zion die away, the Redeemer seems to make His entry, announcing His glorious mission (ch. lxi). 'The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' From this ministry of healing the drama proceeds on its course to its climax in the Day of Judgement. Thus in this poem the whole spirit of the Old Testament is dramatically gathered up. The nation that was to bring the other nations to its God has, in the course of history, broken down. Its divine mission has risen in a glorified form: the Servant of Jehovah that is to be shall gather in the nations, not by war and conquest, but by the gentle agencies of healing and redemption.[1]

[1] *World Literature*, p. 82; *cf. The Literary Study of the Bible*, p. 435 *seq.*

CHAPTER V

First Contact with America.

For one who gave himself for the greater part of each year so unreservedly to University Extension as R. G. Moulton did, life was bound to be most strenuous and exacting. Travelling, which even in England sometimes ran into four figures for a week; three hundred and fifty papers to be marked and commented upon, and six lectures —sometimes nine—to be delivered, each followed by a discussion class: such was his normal weekly programme for two terms of twelve weeks each year from 1874 to 1892, with the exception of the winter of 1891–1892, when he was in America. Take, for instance, his weekly programme during the period from September to December, 1891—his last winter's work in England, as it turned out. On Monday he lectured at Newcastle on 'The Literary Study of the Bible,' and on Tuesday at Middlesbrough on the same subject. On Wednesday morning he travelled to London and lectured at Paddington in the afternoon and Hackney at night on 'Stories as a Mode of Thinking'; on Thursday afternoon on 'Stories' again at the Holloway College, Egham, and on 'The Ancient Classical Drama' at the Gresham Institute in the City. On Friday he lectured on 'The Literary Study of the Bible' at the University Hall, Russell Square, in the afternoon, and on the 'Stories' at Lewisham in the evening; and finished at Cheltenham on Saturday afternoon with the 'Bible,' travelling back to Newcastle in the evening. This

is a record of remarkable endurance on his part, and of a remarkable demand for his courses; and it affords an interesting side-light on Prof. Grant's appreciation.[1] All the time he was engaged on literary work. As has already been pointed out, his books were not the reproductions of his lectures, but his lectures the expression of the book-framework already thought out. In every case, I think I am right in saying, the book form was carefully planned out before the lectures were given—the 'lecture test' suggesting only modification of some details. He had already published, through the Oxford Press, his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1885), and the second edition was issued in 1889. In January, 1890, the same publishers issued his *Ancient Classical Drama*, upon which we find him working most assiduously during the spring of the previous year (1889). A letter indicates that he was bound to deliver the whole by July 31, and he responded by completing the work on July 27. The summer found him, as in some other years, at Oxford for the University Extension Summer Meeting, where he gave nine lectures on 'The Ancient Classical Drama.' Nothing is more noticeable in his lecturing career than the increasing demand for that subject. It was slow in arresting the Extension audiences, but when it did 'catch on' its success was phenomenal. To sustain an average audience of 700 on such a subject, as he did at Newcastle, was an amazing achievement, and a notable tribute both to him and to them.

The pressure of work attaching to the production of that work inevitably postponed until the following year the Continental tour which he desired to make a mid-life holiday. Having concluded, as he was wont to express it, one chapter of his life-object, he felt it was desirable before determining the work of the future to think out the

[1] p. 30.

whole question of the life-object again. For that end he considered that nothing was likely to serve his purpose so well as foreign travel, during which his ordinary mental processes would be suspended, while other faculties—*e.g.*, of artistic appreciation, &c.—would receive a new stimulus. He purposed to give a year to foreign travel : he actually gave four months to the Continent of Europe, which he had not visited for some years ; but his tour in America, which he planned ' in order to make acquaintance with the other side of the English-reading public,' developed into a real ' campaign ' of public speaking and lecturing, so that one condition he had laid down for this mid-life holiday—' work dropped '—was certainly not fulfilled ! His Continental tour was a fairly varied one, embracing Antwerp, Cologne, Dresden, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Munich, Innsbruck, Florence, Rome, Venice, Milan, Como, Lucerne, Bâle, Paris. As might be expected, he got a great deal out of such an experience, and he profited from the fact of being away from work in perfect air and being free to think without any sense of urgency. He revelled in the musical education afforded by opera, and he declared that he had experienced no such sensation of mental growth since his undergraduate days, and the same was true in respect of pictorial art, although in a less degree.

Up to this time there had been one very serious practical difficulty which seemed to preclude the prospect of a visit to America. An illness in childhood had left the seeds of an affection of the ear labyrinths, which had made sea travel always a very painful experience, and which during the early eighties developed for a time into a serious disability. More than forty years ago, of course, much less was known about this kind of trouble ; and several eminent physicians—and even specialists—although having suspicions aroused by the nature of the symptoms,

were unable to make an accurate diagnosis. But at last the late Dr. Edward Woakes, of Harley Street, was found able to get to the root of the trouble, and after three or four years there seemed to be every reason to believe that a cure had been accomplished. But whether that was so or not could only be tested by experience ; and it was for this purpose that he and I paid a flying visit to the Orkney Isles. The test was a fairly strenuous one, for the boat on which we had to cross from Thurso was small, and both going and returning we encountered a sea which was very choppy, though not absolutely rough. He stood the test perfectly well, and I remember distinctly how great a relief it was to him in view of his future plans.

There is no doubt that among the considerations leading up to this visit to America was the desire to give as well as to get. As we have seen, the original plan for the American section of the mid-life holiday included more than the ordinary interests of travelling ; there was the intention to come into living touch, if possible, with that other great portion of the English-speaking world, which also shares that priceless inheritance of literature which had been the subject-matter of R. G. Moulton's teaching Moreover, the impulse did not come only from his side. His work was not altogether unknown in the United States and Canada, and opportunities of meeting American visitors interested in educational matters were afforded by such gatherings as the meetings of the New Shakspere Society[1] and the Oxford Summer Meetings. Those Oxford meetings, attractive partly because it was Oxford, and partly because of the distinguished lecturers included in the programme, were at this period specially interesting to such visitors from the other side, as they were thus enabled to look more closely into the working of University Extension, which had achieved such conspicuous success

[1] Where R. G. Moulton read annual papers in the period 1885–90.

in England, and which—after scattered experiments in various places in America—was just being organized in certain centres on a more important scale. I remember during one Summer Meeting at Oxford when I was his guest, meeting at breakfast one such moving spirit in American education, who certainly put pressure on him to go over and give encouragement and inspiration to those engaged in similar work in the United States, and to make known there his special views on the study of literature. Thus, while he undoubtedly went for the purpose of *getting*—further insight into the needs, the possibilities, and the characteristics of the English-speaking races—it is equally true that he went for the purpose of *giving*. He had the missionary spirit, and University Extension was to him much more than a means of livelihood and a chosen career. It was a mission ; and in like manner Literature was to him much more than one of the garnishings and adornments of a cultivated life. His vision of its high function as the medium for the study (' criticism ') of Life—this was to him a gospel, and a gospel for all.

One thing is very clear with reference to the visit. He went with no purpose of settling on the other side of the Atlantic ; and although he received offers of various attractive positions of educational influence, this remained a fixed determination with him until in the course of his second visit it was borne in upon him that America was the best sphere for the working out of his ideas. But more will be said about that later.

He went to America armed with a large number of personal introductions to people of distinction and of leading, as well as some remarkable tributes from outstanding men who had attended his lectures, and knew his gifts. Prof. James Stuart, M.P., to whom reference has already been made in these pages as being the initiator of

the Cambridge University Extension Movement, gave a warm appreciation of his power to hold and interest while instructing his audience, and bears testimony to his exceptional value to the Movement. But two of these appreciations are worthy of being quoted in full, partly because of the distinction of the names they bear, and partly because they amply explain the standing which he had obtained in his fifteen years of Extension lecturing in England, and also the standing which he so rapidly obtained in America. The first was from Dr. Percival, Head Master of Rugby and afterwards Bishop of Hereford. He writes: 'As Mr. R. G. Moulton is about to go to America with the intention of lecturing there, I desire to say that I had the advantage of hearing his lectures on *Faust*, at the Oxford Summer Meeting of University Extension students in 1888, and I can honestly say that I never in my life listened to a more admirable and enjoyable course of lectures. I knew before hearing Mr. Moulton that he was the most eminent and successful of all the University lecturers, but I was not prepared for the wonderful skill with which he held his large audience entranced day after day. I am glad to think that our English teachers are about to be represented in the States by Mr. Moulton; and I am using no exaggeration when I say that there is a rare intellectual treat in store for every society which may have the good fortune to secure Mr. Moulton as a lecturer.' The second was from the great Shakespeare expert, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, Director of the 'New Shakspere Society.'[1] He writes: 'The originality and ability of your book, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, struck me so strongly that I asked you, though a stranger to me, to come on the Committee of the New Shakspere

[1] R. G. Moulton always adhered to the spelling 'Shakespeare'; but this did not seem to render him in the least degree suspect among those who formed the 'New Shakspere Society,' and who held as tenaciously to the other spelling.

Society and read us some papers. You kindly did come, and when you read your first paper we were all charmed with it and of course printed it. Your admirable delivery of it—that of a trained and eloquent lecturer, with the earnestness and conviction of an enthusiast and a master of his subject—was something new at our meetings ; and your January paper has yearly since been the treat of the season. The reports of friends of mine who have attended your lectures in the provinces more than confirm my own experience of you. They speak with enthusiasm of your influence on them and of how you have stirred them to study. The like testimony reaches me from Oxford. Were I to search all England through I could not pick a better man than you to represent the old country as a lecturer on English Literature in America. Your earnestness and breadth, combined as they are with your power of delicate analysis, especially fit you for United States audiences.'

The schedule of engagements belonging to this visit is an interesting study from many points of view. During his first four weeks in the country he seems to have given only nine lectures, three at Boston University, one at Philadelphia, and five at Baltimore. In the second four weeks he appears to have given twenty-two lectures over an increasing field of influence ; and before he finished the tour—in the third week of April, 1891—he was lecturing two and three times a day, and even then was unable to meet all the demands made upon him.

It is interesting to note that just at first he had to contend with the Englishman's not uncommon difficulty in being heard in America, while at the same time there was strong testimony as to his clearness of enunciation. This was no doubt partly due to the difference between the English and American intonation and pronunciation, although a prominent Bostonian told him ' Your English

brogue is not offensively strong.' But most of his lectures were on subjects of a dramatic character, and at that time general audiences were unaccustomed to the rapid changes of intonation required in the 'Interpretative Recital,' which he had worked out for himself as a most effective medium for the presentation of a whole dramatic work in one view. But this difficulty, once realized, was speedily surmounted, and from many records of this period it is evident that as a public speaker he was particularly acceptable to American audiences.

In order fully to explain the uniqueness of the opportunity opened to this visiting English lecturer, it is necessary to say something as to the stage of development at which the University Extension idea had arrived in the United States. As in England before the scheme of Prof. Stuart took shape in 1873, so in various parts of the United States there are recorded isolated experiments in extending the field of University teaching. But during 1890 most important steps towards organization were being taken, Dr. William Pepper, distinguished Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1881 to 1894, being the moving spirit. Some years earlier he had inaugurated 'The University Lecture Association . . . to bring the University and the Community into closer sympathy.' In the wider idea of University Extension he saw also 'an opportunity for co-operation among academic institutions.'[1] Under his leadership was formed in Philadelphia the Society under whose auspices a meeting was held on November 19, 1890, to arouse interest in the movement. 'Among the notable speeches . . . were those by him' (Dr. Pepper), 'by the President of Princeton University, and by Dr. Moulton, who at that time was about to inaugurate in Philadelphia his first lectures on Literature.

[1] From the *Life of William Pepper, M.D., LL.D.*, by Francis Newton Thorpe. (Lippincott, 1904.)

The effect of Dr. Moulton's speech was immediate. Many joined the Society, and its purpose was more widely and correctly understood.'[1] The Society thus formed became in December, 1890, 'The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching,' the presidents of many leading institutions of learning being members of its Governing Council from the first. By June, 1891, nearly eighty of the most important universities and colleges in the United States—from east to west and north to south—had 'signified a willingness to co-operate with the American Society,' which was an important step in advance.

It will be seen that R. G. Moulton reached the Eastern United States just when the field was prepared for the use of exactly such talents and experience as his, and he often spoke of the deep satisfaction it had been to him to be able to take the great opportunity which opened before him. In November, 1890, Provost Pepper proposed that he should get rid of sporadic lecturing and give all his time to the Society for the remainder of the season. Engagements already made in Boston, Baltimore, Washington and other places had to be fitted in, but by arrangement a period of ten weeks, beginning with January 26, 1891, was practically cleared and placed at the disposal of the Society. Most of the courses given were of six lectures, some of four; while, as a means of introducing the University Extension idea, short 'campaigns,' each consisting of one explanatory address and one or two lectures illustrating the method, were found most effective, and these were arranged in many places.

There was immediate recognition of the value of all this work, the clear and artistic presentation of the subject-matter being especially appreciated. As an English

[1] From the *Life of William Pepper, M.D., LL.D.*, by Francis Newton Thorpe. (Lippincott, 1904.)

exponent of literature he was placed in the highest rank, and it was declared by educational authorities, and in the press, that no Englishman had ever rendered such services to education in America. Discriminating testimony, as well to the personal impression as to the effect produced by the 'missionary' character of the work, abounds in educational and literary journals of the period. An article in *Book News* (Philadelphia) for May, 1891, contains the following:

> In the constant practice of the lecture stand he has acquired the dramatic and declamatory powers which have amazed those unaware of all that can be done to render scholarship interesting by enlisting in the service arts usually devoted to amusing, and neglected in instructing audiences. He has added to these brilliant accomplishments a scholarship, broad, catholic, and embracing. He has shown that it is possible to read extracts from a play better than they are given on the stage, and at the same time comment on them with a penetrating criticism equal to all the efforts of the study. From our American audiences, whose superior penetration of the subtler phases of acting every English actor—from Mr. Irving down—has noted, Mr. Moulton has received appreciation as complimentary to his audiences as to himself. In Boston and in Philadelphia —in one city as much as the other—he has drawn audiences at hours when halls are usually empty, and won approval from newspapers which devote but little attention to the lecture platform. . . . Literary perception, dramatic presentation, and the enthusiasm of the itinerant, have made Mr. Moulton's work successful in England and notable in this country.

From the University Extension point of view the following extracts are interesting—taken from an account of the movement and the early days of the American Society,

published in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of March 28, 1891 :

> This rapid growth was due in great part to the visit to this country of Mr. Richard G. Moulton, of the University of Cambridge. This remarkable man, who has served as a true apostle to the movement in this country, . . . threw himself into the work with a zeal and energy which overcame all obstacles. . . . He began at once the work of lecturing and teaching with a devotion that seemed almost incredible. His audiences steadily grew, not only in size but in interest, as the weeks passed by. Lecturing and teaching twice and even three times a day, his time was given up almost wholly to the work, yet somehow he managed to find opportunity to encourage educational work in other places and in other directions, and to counsel and warn the local committees and the central body as to their best course. His strength and energy seemed exhaustless, yet his large audiences always found him ready for the two hours' hard work of lecturing and of answering questions, and those who furnished written answers found them surveyed with a more critical eye and annotated with far more care than the average college student finds his tutor gives to such work. . . . But he was imbued with the true missionary spirit, and difficulties and trials only seemed to stimulate him to further exertions.

The Philadelphia engagement ended early in April, 1891, and the fourteen remaining days in the United States were occupied in fulfilling promises to speak in several universities and colleges, and in giving another important series of lectures in Boston, where he was greatly appreciated as an exponent both of literature and of the University Extension idea. One leading writer, in a laudatory letter to the editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, says : 'If "University Extension" means

lectures such as these, would that " University Extension " were as compulsory as common school education ! '

On April 18, 1891, he sailed for England. Viewing the whole visit in the light of his original purpose, he had every reason to be more than satisfied, although geographically the tour had of necessity been restricted to the Eastern States—many places that had been in the original plan being left unvisited. In the few months he had, however, come in contact with many of the great leaders in education, and gained much by the exchange of ideas. Also the originality of his own special ideas on the study and method of teaching literature had been recognized to an extent that must have been very gratifying. Moreover, it had been a joy to him to have so great a part in the launching in America of University Extension. He had also made an important departure with reference to the presentation of the Bible as Literature ; and the response had been immediate and astonishing. One expression of the high value set upon his services in the educational field gave him peculiar pleasure, because it was expressly stated to be in recognition of ' work done ' during the period, and because of its appropriateness to the bent of his mind. After the close of the academic year of the University of Pennsylvania he received a letter from Provost Pepper, from which the following is an extract : ' It affords me great pleasure to inform you that at the last Commencement Exercises of the University of Pennsylvania I was authorized to confer upon you, *in absentiâ*, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *causâ honoris*.'

A propos of various opportunities to remain permanently in America, which were known to have been offered to R. G. Moulton, one ' interviewer ' records in February, 1891, this remark : ' Mr. Moulton has said that he thinks that his life-work is in England.' And yet in his own

memoranda, under the date of January 26, 1891, appears the following: 'Concluded contract with University of Chicago to give the academic year 1892–3 to assisting start, including University Extension—they to control all lecturing engagements for the year—to be followed in summer by Chautauqua work—either party to back out on unforeseen contingencies.' This momentous decision, which shaped the rest of his life, was an undertaking given to a body which did not exist, to help a department of work which had not been created, on the earnest solicitation of a President who had not been appointed! He might have had a dozen posts in the educational life of America not only for the asking but for just saying 'Yes,' and yet he accepted this invitation in respect of something that seemed to be altogether in the air. What was behind it?

CHAPTER VI

Chicago

It was Chicago which was to be for the next twenty-five years and more the centre at which R. G. Moulton was located. From there he was to carry on unceasingly his missionary activities in connexion with the cause of education in general and the advancement of the study of Literature in particular. There too he was to have the opportunity in some measure to put into organized practical operation his special theories.

For the very reason that the University of Chicago bulked so large in his career—and in his affections—a passing glance must be cast at the fortunes and misfortunes of this great metropolis of the Western States, especially in so far as they bear upon the matter under consideration. In 1837 the population of Chicago was only that of a small market town—just over four thousand. Within the next forty years it passed through the agony of the Civil War; encountered at least two periods of widespread financial panic, in 1857 and 1873; was wrecked by two devastating fires in 1871 and 1874; and yet before the close of the century it could point to a University second to none in the intellectual distinction of its teachers and the far-reaching character of its manifold activities, and equipped with buildings and plant representing benefactions running into many millions of dollars. The impression left by *The Story of the University of Chicago*, as told by Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, is one of amazing

recuperative power and of astonishing public spirit on the part of Chicago's leading citizens.[1]

It was in 1856 that Senator S. A. Douglas donated a valuable site of about ten acres for the establishment of a university in Chicago. The story of its chequered career cannot be set forth here. Suffice it to say that the period of its existence synchronized with that of the fivefold disasters referred to above. However great the ability and worth of those who stood sponsor for the enterprise, it had not a fighting chance against such odds, and it was soon heavily encumbered with debt. In a painfully literal sense it ' began to build and was not able to finish,' and in 1886 it closed down ; not, however, before it had, to use Dr. Goodspeed's phrase, ' produced a profound conviction that Chicago was the predestined seat of a great institution of learning, and the inextinguishable desire and unalterable purpose that a new University, built on more secure foundations, and offering greater and better facilities, should succeed the old one.'

Equally inseparable from the story of the genesis of the present University of Chicago were the institution of the Baptist Theological Seminary, and, later, the activities of the American Baptist Education Society. It should not be forgotten that, although it has been from the first catholic in the truest and richest sense, the University of Chicago owes its inception to Baptist initiative, and was in the first instance made possible by Baptist munificence, and was settled upon trust-deeds which provided for two-thirds of the Trustees and also the President being Baptists.[2]

[1] *The Story of the University of Chicago*, 1890—1925. By T. W. Goodspeed. (Cambridge University Press.)

[2] In 1923 an amendment of the Articles of Incorporation was made in respect to this matter. President Burton, in his Convocation Statement on June 12, 1923, made the following announcement: ' At the request of the University, the Board of Education of the Northern Baptist Convention, the corporation which in 1889–90 founded the University, at its meeting in Atlantic City, May 26, gave its consent

The Seminary had suffered during its early years in much the same way as the old University, and possibly from the same causes, and it was only after its removal to Morgan Park in 1877 that it threw off its embarrassments.

Two names will always stand by themselves among those who made this enterprise into what it is; and both of them came in along the lines hinted at in the last paragraph. One was John D. Rockefeller, who was a generous patron of Morgan Park, and for nine years Vice-President of the Baptist Theological Union. Mr. Rockefeller is too familiar a figure to the world to need any general introduction to any readers. But his relations to those matters touching the projected University reveal a side of him which calls for special notice. He was much more than a lavish donor to a scheme which he made his hobby. The detailed records as presented in the pages of Dr. Goodspeed's book reveal a man acting on deep conviction, and full of an intelligent, and what the old Puritans would call a 'painful,' interest in the prospect for its own sake. His position among American Baptists made it natural and inevitable that he should be approached as the one man who was most able to serve the denomination in its educational schemes. But the story of that approach leaves the impression of a man who is not to be argued into a decision, but who listens, gathers information, masters the facts—and makes no definite response other than that of courteous appreciation until his mind has grasped the whole situation and has presented a conclusive case to his affections, his conscience and his will. When

to the revision of one of the original Articles of Incorporation of the University. This original article provided that "at all times two-thirds of the Trustees and also the President of the University shall be members of regular Baptist churches." By the action of the Board all restrictions on the choice of President will be removed, and the proportion of Trustees required to be Baptists will be changed from two-thirds to three-fifths, the total number being at the same time raised to twenty-five.'

once that was achieved he gave his help with a lavish hand, and the University is a lasting monument to the fact. 'When,' to quote from the same source, 'in November, 1892, the Board of Trustees "voted unanimously that in recognition of the fact that the University owes its existence and its endowment to Mr. Rockefeller, the words *Founded by John D. Rockefeller* be printed in all official publications and letter-heads under the name of the University, and be put upon the Seal," it expressed far less than the full truth. Other institutions have been founded by some particular man. They might have been founded by some other man just as well. But there was no other man to do for the University of Chicago what Mr. Rockefeller did for it. Without him an educational institution of some kind might have been established, but nothing resembling the University of Chicago. For bringing that institution into existence he was the one essential man.'

But while that is wholly true on the one side, on the other there stands out as equally essential, in an utterly different way, William Rainey Harper, first President of the University. His was an amazing story of a life cut short before he reached his fiftieth birthday, but crammed full of rich and varied service, and of noble and lasting achievements. Born in July, 1856, he was at college when only ten, and graduated with special distinction in Hebrew at fourteen. In his nineteenth year he took his doctorate in Philosophy at Yale, married the daughter of his college president at Muskingum, Ohio, and was appointed Principal of the Masonic College, Macon, Tennessee. At twenty-three he was elected Hebrew Professor at Morgan Park, after spending three fruitful years under Dr. E. B. Andrews at Denison University, Granville, Ohio. After seven years at Morgan Park he went to Yale as Professor of Semitic Languages, and there

he stayed until he was called in 1891 to the presidency of a University which as yet had no buildings and no students, but which he lived to see thronged with thousands of students and equipped with several million dollars' worth of plant, extending on all sides each year. It is not quite easy to discern the degree to which Mr. Rockefeller and Dr. Harper influenced each other's decision in respect of the University that was to be, but there are suggestions that as early as 1888 Mr. Rockefeller's own share in the matter seemed to be in some degree conditioned by Dr. Harper's being in it too. At the same period Dr. Harper seems to have scouted all suggestions from his friends that he would be the first President if the Chicago scheme materialized: but in July, 1889, he writes: 'You may be sure I am thinking and dreaming and doing nothing but this Chicago matter.' With him at that stage it was largely a matter of the financial possibilities of the scheme. His enthusiasm for instruction in Hebrew being the outstanding feature of his teaching career from first to last, and, having the struggles and troubles of the old University fresh in his mind, he shrank from the prospect of turning aside from his life-work to serving tables and tackling debts; and his feeling was natural and justifiable. However, after much consideration and negotiation, a satisfactory answer was found to the fundamental question—'How could Dr. Harper become President of a University in Chicago, and at the same time not practically renounce his chosen life-work of Old Testament research, criticism and instruction?' Gradually a plan was evolved which provided (*a*) for the Theological Seminary to become an organic part of the new University and eventually to be removed to the campus; (*b*) for instruction in Hebrew and Old Testament Criticism to be transferred to University chairs, with Dr. Harper as Head Professor, with full authority over that department; (*c*) for a new

unconditional gift of one million dollars to aid this and other parts of the programme. On September 18, 1890, the Board of Trustees had formally invited Dr. Harper to accept the presidency, but it was not until February 28, 1891, that he intimated his formal acceptance of the post. It is interesting to note that this latter date is more than a month *after* the date on which R. G. Moulton had, in an interview with Dr. Harper at Washington, entered into the arrangement—conditional on both sides—by which he was to give an academic year to assisting the new University of Chicago ! Moreover, the date for the commencement of Dr. Harper's duties was fixed as July 1, 1891, and the University was not to open its doors to students until October 1, 1892. It is evident that during his period of indecision Dr. Harper had already taken some steps towards ascertaining what assistance in his great undertaking might be available.

Before passing on to see Dr. Harper's mind at work in framing the University, a glance should be cast on those who, in addition to Mr. Rockefeller, stood by him in the project—I mean the Board of Trustees. They were mostly men who occupied responsible positions in Chicago, and some lived as far away as New York : while during the most crucial years of organization five of them were at the same time serving as Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition. Yet in spite of all these claims on their time and energy, such was their devotion that during a period of ten years two hundred and fifty meetings showed an average attendance of twelve or thirteen out of a possible total of twenty-one. Every imaginable subject of both an educational and business character was presented to the Board for its consideration, and the magnitude of their task is indicated by the fact that the sums which passed through their hands for investment and re-investment amounted to about fifteen million dollars

during the ten years, while the expenditure which they had to supervise over that period amounted to five million dollars. Further, it is to be remembered that 1893 was a year of financial panic: 'and it was not altogether certain that the new institution could meet the heavy demands made upon it in view of the generous scale on which it had been started. In these times of crisis the strength and courage of the Trustees individually and collectively appeared at its best.'[1] The benefactions up to June 30, 1902, amounted to seventeen and a half million dollars, of which nearly six millions were given by others than Mr. Rockefeller, mostly by citizens of Chicago. At one time a considerable measure of doubt was felt as to 'whether the citizens of Chicago would rally to the support of an institution established so closely in connexion with a single denomination and assisted so generously by one man. The history of other institutions organized wholly or in part along the same lines was not encouraging, and the very fact that Mr. Rockefeller was understood to be able to furnish all the money that might be needed was a source of difficulty; but the people of Chicago exhibited in this matter great breadth of mind and intelligence. Moved by the example of a few men known throughout the country for their large and generous consideration of important questions, the public at large soon came into friendly relationship with the University.'

In connexion with this matter of benefactions it is interesting to note President Harper's exposition, in this same document, of what may be called the ethical basis of benefactions, and the status of benefactors:

[1] From *The President's Report* issued in connexion with the Decennial Celebrations, 1902. Much that is written concerning the 'genius' of the University in the following pages is more or less based upon what Dr. Harper wrote in that illuminating production—which deserved some kindlier designation than 'Report'!

> It is my opinion that no donor of money to a university, whether that donor be an individual or the state, has any right before God or man to interfere with the teaching of officers appointed to give instruction in a university. When for any reason, in a university on private foundation, or in a university supported by public money, the administration of the institution or the instruction in any one of its departments is changed by an influence from without; when an effort is made to dislodge an officer or a professor because the political sentiment or the religious sentiment of the majority has undergone a change, at that moment the institution has ceased to be a university, and it cannot again take its place in the rank of universities so long as there continues to exist, to any appreciable extent, the factor of coercion. Neither an individual, nor the state, nor the church has the right to interfere with the search for truth, or with its promulgation when found. Individuals, or the state, or the church may found schools for propagating certain kinds of instruction, but such schools are not universities, and may not be so denominated. A donor has the privilege of ceasing to make his gifts to an institution if, in his opinion, for any reason, the work of the institution is not satisfactory; but *as donor* he has no right to interfere with the administration or the instruction of the university. . . . In order to be specific, and in order not to be misunderstood, I wish to say that no donor of funds to the University—and I include among the donors the founder of the University, Mr. Rockefeller—has ever by a single word or act indicated his dissatisfaction with the instruction given to students in the University, or with the public expression of opinion made by an officer of the University.

This is a pronouncement of considerable importance, not merely because it embodies Dr. Harper's conception of a University but also because the first plan was for the

establishment of a *College*, not a University. But what about the use and abuse of the right of free expression by officers of the University staff—which is another aspect of the same question? A companion pronouncement to the above, on this subject of general interest, throws one more sidelight on the mind of Dr. Harper. After laying down the absolute right of the University instructor to express his opinion; and the equally absolute right of the University, in the case of an instructor engaged for a term of years, to allow the appointment to lapse when the period has expired, if it thinks fit, he goes on to say:

> If an officer on permanent appointment abuses his privilege as a professor, the University must suffer, and it is proper that it should suffer. This is only the direct and inevitable consequence of the lack of proper foresight and wisdom involved in the original appointment. The injury thus accruing to the University is, moreover, far less serious than would follow if, for an expression of opinion differing from that of the majority of the faculty, or from that of the Board of Trustees, or from that of the President of the University, a permanent officer were asked to present his resignation. The greatest single element necessary for the cultivation of the academic spirit is the feeling of security from interference. It is only those who have this feeling who are able to do work which in the highest sense will be beneficial to humanity. Freedom of expression must be given the members of a university faculty, even though it be abused; for, as has been said, the abuse of it is not so great an evil as the restriction of such liberty. But it may be asked: In what way may the professor abuse his privilege of freedom of expression? Or, to put the question more largely, In what way does a professor bring reproach and injury to himself and to his institution? I answer: A professor is guilty of an abuse of his privilege who promulgates as truth ideas or

> opinions which have not been tested scientifically by his colleagues in the same department of research or investigation. . . . A professor abuses his privilege who takes advantage of a classroom exercise to propagate the partisan views of one or another of the political parties. . . . A professor abuses his privilege of expression of opinion when, although a student and perhaps an authority in one department or group of departments, he undertakes to speak authoritatively on subjects which have no relationship to the department in which he was appointed to give instruction. . . . A professor abuses his privilege of freedom of expression when he fails to exercise that quality ordinarily called common sense, which, it must be confessed, in some cases the professor lacks. A professor ought not to make such an exhibition of his weakness, or to make such an exhibition of his weakness so many times, that the attention of the public at large is called to the fact. In this respect he has no larger liberty than other men.

As we have seen, the first million-dollar fund was raised for the establishment of a college. But, as Dr. Goodspeed puts it, 'For the first and only time in Dr. Harper's life, his prolific mind seemed to be barren of ideas . . . he found himself unable to think in terms of a college—for undergraduate students only.' No sooner, however, had Mr. Rockefeller added a million dollars to the funds for the purpose of making the college a true University than Dr. Harper's mind became very busy.' Before the University actually came into operation he had thought it all out in terms of (1) The University proper; (2) The University Extension; (3) The University Press; (4) The University Libraries, Laboratories, and Museums; (5) The University affiliations. It will be seen at once how this fivefold formation expressed what was so vital a consideration to him—the obligation of a university to the outsider.

Self-centredness is always the snare of such an institution —the absorption in its own life and work; and against this he resolutely set himself.

The same attitude is manifest with reference to the distribution of the Academic Year, which was divided into four quarters, eventually arranged to consist of rather more than eleven weeks each. Members of the faculties are only *expected* to lecture, and students to attend, in three of these quarters, but Dr. Harper felt strongly the advantages of so elastic a system.

After pointing out that in the climate of Chicago there is no season more suitable for work than the summer, he proceeds:

> This plan of a continuous session secures certain advantages which are denied in institutions open only three-fourths of the year. It will permit the admission of students to the University at several times during the year, rather than at one time only, the arrangement of courses having already been made with this object in view. It will enable students who have lost time because of illness to make up the lost work, without further injury to their health or detriment to the subject studied. . . . It will permit students to be absent from the University during those portions of the year in which they can to best advantage occupy themselves in procuring means with which to continue the course. . . . It will provide an opportunity for professors in smaller institutions, teachers in academies and high schools, ministers and others, who under the existing system cannot attend a college or a university, to avail themselves of the opportunity of University residence.

Much more might be said with reference to President Harper's originality in framing his plans for getting the most out of the University; but enough has been said to indicate how far-sighted and full of promise they were for

what Professor T. C. Chamberlin calls ' the evolution of a true University in the largest sense, with scholastic sympathies as broad as the limits of inquiry, with altruistic devotion as broad as humanity.'

And it is not the least conspicuous element in a story of this University that it affords the spectacle of a great institution built up from nothing into a richly-equipped University thronged by thousands of students ; and all the main lines worked out according to the scheme of one man, and, subject to continual expansion which probably will never cease, realized or set in train during the fifteen years in which he occupied the post of President.

Before passing on to R. G. Moulton's special part in this great undertaking, something should be said about the band of men whom President Harper persuaded to join him in the great adventure. In the address from which quotation has been made, Professor Chamberlin said :

> To the task of organizing the new University the Faculty came together from the four quarters of the earth. Rarely, if ever, at the inauguration of an institution of learning, have there gathered from so many lands men of such varied academic experiences and such diverse points of view. Not only from the east and west, the north and the south, of our own continent, but from the Old World and from far-away lands, men and women, rich in experience, serious in purpose, came together to counsel and to construct. There were indeed antagonistic views and sharp challenges of the educational worth of both the old and the new. With apologies to Kipling, the East was East, and the West was West, but the twain did meet and fuse into an alloy strong and fit.
>
> Our great first President, like a skilled metallurgist, summoned each and all to cast into the melting-pot his contribution to the issues in hand. With masterly skill he stirred the heterogeneous ingredients and watched

with obvious delight the fusing process as the fires grew hot. There were seethings and vaporings, but when these had passed off there remained the goodly residue sought. Tried thus in the crucible of conflict, the seasoned product was cast into the moulds which were to give shape to the policies and practices, the statutes and regulations, of the young institution.

Not infrequently the first castings ill fitted the places for which they were devised, but they were promptly thrown again into the furnace and recast in better moulds. And so the mechanism of the young University, planned in the main by our great leader, but bearing, in large degree, the impress of each and all, grew rapidly into an organization of unusual efficiency.

Such was the fellowship of inspiration and sphere of service into which R. G. Moulton was led to enter.

CHAPTER VII.

A Strenuous Ministry.

It is not surprising that President Harper should have been attracted to R. G. Moulton. Here was a man who had undoubtedly made good in England under conditions which had effectively demonstrated his power to interest and illuminate audiences along a line essentially his own. That this was not a merely English achievement had been shown by the fact that his first lecturing tour in the States had proved a growing success, manifest even in the early weeks which preceded the fateful interview with Dr. Harper in the Christmas vacation, 1890–91. But there was beyond this something eminently personal which commended the English lecturer to the great American educationalist. Over and over again in Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed's bibliography in the William Rainey Harper memorial number of the *Biblical World* occurs the word 'inductive' in the title of a book. There are, *e.g.*, *An Inductive Latin Method, An Inductive Greek Method, Inductive Bible Stories, Inductive Studies in English.* The point may be a small one, but it is impossible not to find in it a meeting ground between President Harper and the champion of the Inductive Study of Literature. As we have seen, it is probable that in the course of about two years before the opening of the University of Chicago the President had been seeking out those who would be most likely to achieve the educational purposes upon which his mind was set; and here was one after his own heart.

He found him on the field common to them both—that of University Extension, which we have already seen to be part of Dr. Harper's cherished projects for the University which was to be.

It is equally certain that R. G. Moulton was immediately impressed and attracted by Dr. Harper, for whom his admiration continued to grow throughout the whole of their association. Because of his determination at that time (1890–91) not to settle permanently away from England, he declined to consider the offer of a chair in the proposed new University of Chicago, but allowed himself to enter into the conditional agreement to give one year's help at the start. He used to relate how, in the course of a night railway journey after the interview, he began to regret having committed himself even so far, and decided to write at once asking to be allowed to withdraw from his undertaking. However, in the morning came the reflection: 'After all, it is only for a year!' Had that letter been written, how different the rest of the life-story might have been! For it needed only a few months of the atmosphere of the Middle West—literally and metaphorically stimulating—to produce the absolute conviction that in America he would find the best field for his work. From Philadelphia in 1891 he had written: 'People are open to ideas as to literary study in general, which is my real interest in life, even University Extension being secondary to this.' In nearly all the positions offered to him during these two or three years opportunities would have been afforded for carrying out, at least in some measure, his ideas along both these lines. But growth was more likely to be achieved where all the planting was new than in ground where the space was already occupied. This was one reason, therefore, why proposals made by President Harper attracted him more than those made by any other of the six universities from which he received definite

offers at this time. He was, however, bound by promises made in 1891 to give full consideration to two others before definitely settling with Chicago. Owing to this fact, and to the tremendous pressure of work amid entirely new conditions, progress was slow in regard to final settlement of the terms of the engagement. Opportunities for discussion with the President were few: 'We are both so busy that we can seldom get a chance to talk matters over.'

Time being so very fully occupied, it is interesting to see how he used the very small amount available for relaxation. In reply to a question about the buildings in course of erection for the great World's Fair of 1893, he writes (December, 1892): 'I have not yet been in the grounds, though the gate is not a quarter of a mile away, and I go close up to it every time I take the train: I am rapidly becoming a machine with two tunes, work and music.' The music 'tune' is referred to later as 'the delight of the week, and my only relaxation: Friday afternoon and Saturday night, the Thomas Concerts.' As to the World's Fair: 'I am informed that I have been made one of the "Advisory Council" on the matter of Religious Congresses, but I fear my part will be limited to making a single suggestion, which has been acknowledged as "acceptable"—that is, I presume, the phrase for shelving.' Beyond this, for reasons that appear below, his enjoyment of the great Exposition was limited to appreciation of some of the architecture after the doors were closed—the *tout ensemble* for a short time, and afterwards especially the Field Museum, which remained in stately beauty amid its setting of park and lake for many years.

With external work crowding his time in such a way, it is not surprising that he sought and obtained release from such Spring Quarter and Chautauqua engagements as had been under consideration, so as to have time for the section of his life-work which was definitely in hand.

With characteristic devotion to the *magnum opus* of the moment, he arranged with President Harper for postponement of the negotiations concerning his proposed position in the University until he should return from England in December, 1893. He then fulfilled some engagements in the East, among them being—in Philadelphia—a special course of three lectures given in response to an invitation signed by several college and university Presidents and other prominent ' educators,' to explain his ' own method of literary study, criticism, and interpretation.'

The eight months in England thus secured were devoted to his book on *The Literary Study of the Bible*, the importance of which subject in all schemes of education had been pressing upon him more and more. Interpretative recitals and lectures during his first visit to the United States had been very successful. On his return to England in 1891, finding the University Extension authorities at Cambridge not at that time able to include in their lists such courses by a layman, he had made independent arrangements for the season 1891–92, describing himself as ' Late Lecturer to Cambridge University Extension,' although he did not really resign until three years later, on accepting the permanent position in Chicago. A total of about one hundred and fifty Bible lectures were given—over twenty courses of six lectures or more, including (1892) the London University Extension Summer Course in Literature, and courses on the same subject at the Summer Meetings of Oxford and Edinburgh. He had, therefore, been able to apply a thorough and most satisfactory ' lecture-test ' to the results of his investigation of Biblical literary forms, and the eight months' work in 1893 was all that was necessary to complete this textbook on the subject, publication of which had already been undertaken by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co., of Boston.

Thus, when R. G. Moulton reached Chicago again, in

December, 1893, it was with a mind free to throw himself fully into organizing within University walls that department of a complete education which he felt to be so unsatisfactorily represented or entirely lacking in existing schemes. But the year 1893 had been a year of financial panic, the effects of which continued for some years ; and when negotiations were resumed it was found not only that the sum previously assumed as financial basis was outside the strict limits now insisted upon by the Trustees, but also that they were naturally somewhat chary of launching out with a new department on the scale which both the President and the Professor-to-be considered to be demanded by the nature and importance of the subject. Ultimately, before R. G. Moulton sailed for England in August, 1894, the matter was practically settled, and he resigned his connexion with Christ's College, Cambridge, and with the Cambridge University Extension Movement. Thus 1894 marks the end of one epoch and the initiation of another. Henceforth, although he never became a naturalized citizen of the United States, Chicago became his working base, and any work in England was purely subsidiary ; and it remained so until 1919, when he laid down his work and returned home.

A career such as his cannot easily be reduced to biographical requirements, and a mere chronicle would be a weariness both to write and to read. But it is desirable to deal in some detail with the decade 1890–1900, not only because it occupies almost the exact centre of his most active working life, but because it was so markedly a period of transition from the theoretical development of ideas to their realization to some extent in practice.

One effect of the commercial depression dating from 1893, which has been mentioned, was serious delay in the formation of the new Literature department for which he was to be responsible ; and it was as ' Professor of

Literature (in English)' that he commenced his connexion with the University of Chicago, his time being divided between University lectures and classes and University Extension work. In 1901 the title of his chair was changed to the more truly descriptive 'Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation.' Meanwhile in 1898 the 'Department of Literature (in English)' had come into being, this title also undergoing alteration in 1901, to 'The Department of General Literature.'

To those interested neither of these titles was quite satisfactory. Literature—freed from linguistic limitations, and thus made universally accessible—was to be scientifically studied. Therefore 'The Department of Literature'—without any qualifying addition—seemed to be the logical title. But there existed already Departments of 'English Language and Literature,' 'Romance Languages and Literature,' 'Greek Language and Literature,' &c.—all organized in accordance with the traditional linking of the study of any particular literature with the study of the language in which it was originally produced. In consideration of this fact and of the newness of the study of *Literature as a whole*, it was decided that the department must be launched with some title perhaps less likely to be misunderstood. 'Comparative Literature,' of course recognized as an important division of study, was at that time rejected as a title for the department, on account of the implied limitation of method. The following extract from the *Annual Register of the University of Chicago* gives the best idea of the purposes for which it was founded.

> The Department of General Literature, formerly known as the Department of Literature (in English), has for its theoretic basis the unity of all literature. The purpose of the department is, by its own courses and by co-operation with Departments VIII–XV,

to afford facilities for the study of literature not limited by the divisions between particular languages and peoples.

The courses of the department are open to students of the Senior Colleges, and to the Graduate School of Arts and Literature. They are designed for two different classes of students : (1) those whose main work is remote from literature, but who may desire some literary culture as an element of liberal education ; (2) those who, whether in their Senior College or their graduate work, desire to specialize in Literature. (Particular courses in Biblical Literature, where it is so specified, but no others, are open to students of the Junior Colleges who have completed twelve majors.)

The work of the department falls into three sections : 1. General Literature (irrespective of divisions between particular languages), treated as a part of general culture rather than specialized study. In this section no knowledge will be assumed of any language other than English. 2. The Theory of Literature, including Literary Interpretation and Literary Criticism. For purposes of practical education it is believed to be impossible without the use of literature in translation to obtain a sufficiently wide induction from literary phenomena to make studies like these scientific. In this section knowledge of the original languages of the literatures concerned may or may not be assumed. 3. Comparative Literature, as the term is generally understood. The work of this section will assume knowledge of the original languages of the principal literatures concerned.

Senior College Courses.

For Senior College courses no knowledge is assumed of any language other than English. They are designed for students who may desire, at this stage of their education, to gain an intelligent appreciation of the great landmarks of world literature, acquaintance with which

> is an essential of liberal education alike for those whose main interests are, and those whose main interests are not, literary.

The department being so largely dependent upon others, it was not always possible to secure adequate representation of all three sections in the curriculum. Of course, a department organized along such new lines cannot easily command the funds necessary for its development, however great may be the proved educational value of its training. Many students feel obliged—very regretfully—to forgo what is exceedingly attractive to them, and concentrate their work in those departments where the courses offered fit in more exactly with the requirements for existing positions in the academic world. Nevertheless, in ' Department XVI ', although the necessary ' full-time ' staff could not be obtained, excellent sequences were arranged and, during the twenty-one years that R. G. Moulton was the active head, large numbers came under its influence—greatly valuing the larger view and grasp of literature thus gained.

Although he saw the realization of only a small part of his vision, this was for R. G. Moulton a very happy side of his life-work. With the true sympathy of the born teacher, he was always interested in his students and—here as everywhere—happy in his relations with them, the chief regret being the shortness of the time during which he could influence them. Another cause for regret was that so little intercourse with colleagues in the University was possible, since nothing gave him more pleasure than hearing friends ' talk shop '—if they would ! But in his first and tentative session there had been that blend of the academic and the extra-mural work which is not at all favourable to social life, and it continued to characterize his work until, in 1910, the return of an

old trouble—a type of vertigo—necessitated the drastic diminution of outside activities, especially where incessant travelling was involved. The schedules of the activities of his first fifteen years at Chicago are amazing records of work and endurance. In the early years of the new century we find him ranging over the States of Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, Michigan, Colorado, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Louisiana, California, Missouri, Kansas, to say nothing of lecturing expeditions to Montreal, Toronto and other cities in Ontario, Ottawa, &c. It was no uncommon thing for him to travel thirty or forty hours a week while putting in at least two lectures a day in different towns. In several seasons we find him taking as many as ten courses in a fortnightly circuit of ten different cities, ranging from five hundred miles east to five hundred miles west of Chicago. In the winter of 1910 the courses were planned in the five cities of Wheeling, West Virginia ; Cincinnati, Ohio ; Louisville, Kentucky ; East St. Louis, Illinois ; and Peoria, Illinois. This circuit necessitated the spending of four nights a week in trains. No wonder that there followed the record of the 'revolutionizing incident'[1] referred to above, involving the laying aside of all travel for the remaining five months of that season, only his usual work in the University being continued. This particular health trouble, however, again yielded to expert treatment, but arrangements for the completion of the interrupted University Extension courses could not be made. It may be mentioned in passing how small was the total number of engagements missed—through illness or other cause—throughout a lecturing career of fifty years ! It is wonderful to note how quickly he got back to a number of his fields of service ; and he sums up the

[1] See pp. 76, 107.

situation in a sentence, under the date June, 1911 : ' Last year's disturbance continues as redistribution of energy—with question of making permanent.' There we have a tireless, undaunted worker forced to face a modification of his working life, but defining it in terms not of repose but of *redistribution* of energy ! His indeed was the disposition of which Charles Wesley sings when he prays to be allowed ' to cease at once to work and live ! '

A redistribution of time also became necessary. Work within the University walls was concentrated in two quarters, Autumn and Winter, and longer visits to England became possible. Regular University Extension work in America henceforth disappears from his programme, and with it a great body of conspicuous opportunities for spreading his ideas ; which opportunities he surrendered with very keen regret.

During those years of intense activity the University class-rooms and the Extension centres do not by any means represent the fulness of his operations. Many ' extras ' are to be found in every annual record, and a very varied assortment they are. Single lectures, addresses and short ' campaigns ' at colleges, universities, schools, literary clubs, churches, ministers' meetings, or at various conventions, chautauquas, gatherings of Teachers' Associations, &c.—after reading these lists one is left with a sense of very keen demand for his services on the part of educational institutions great or small, afar off and near at hand ; and to such requests he was very responsive. The ' missionary ' instinct within him led him to see in such fields the most fruitful opportunities for the sowing of his seed.

Some of the more important engagements at a distance from Chicago were only made possible by special arrangement for absence from the University. Thus in 1902 ' The American Society for the Extension of University

Teaching,' referred to in Chapter II, arranged to have his services for six weeks, and the University of Chicago allowed him to have a further six weeks free in order to accept long-standing invitations to deliver courses in New York, Boston, and elsewhere. The chief course in New York was the first of two notable courses on the Literature of the Bible given in St. Bartholomew's Church. These lectures were arranged for the Lenten seasons of 1902 and 1904, by invitation of Dr. David H. Greer, then Rector of St. Bartholomew's, who became in 1903 Bishop Coadjutor and in 1908 Bishop of New York. Another experience which R. G. Moulton found most interesting was when he was borrowed from the University of Chicago by the Dioceses of California and Los Angeles jointly for a month of Bible lecturing from church and cathedral pulpits and in university halls, the lectures being arranged under the auspices of the Sunday-School Commission of the Diocese of California.

His message concerning the literary study of the Bible brought him everywhere into contact with those who were most experienced in such subjects, as well as with those who were in a position to spread in their turn the ideas which he gave them. This work being in a field common to all Churches inspired by the teaching embodied in the Bible, it is not surprising that there is a delightful catholicity about his visits for the purpose of expounding it. One half year finds him addressing one ministers' meeting (Inter-denominational) at Lowell, Mass., and another (Presbyterian) at New York; delivering a Lenten course of eight lectures in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, speaking on *Ecclesiastes* in a Jewish synagogue at Philadelphia, while he also gave two lectures at Union Theological Seminary in New York and during the same period was heard on Biblical subjects in various churches —Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian

—in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago and other places. The impression made by him on Jewish communities is noticeable, and his correspondence shows evidence of deep appreciation of his presentation of the Old Testament. Over and over again there came to hand evidence of how men of different types had been led from indifference to Biblical literature into earnest and intelligent study by being brought face to face with the *Modern Reader's Bible*. Two such letters lie before me as I write. One of them is over a signature well known even on this side of the Atlantic as that of a leading captain of American finance; and it begins: 'As a business man who rather late in life has been greatly interested in Bible reading as a result of seeing the *Modern Reader's Bible* . . .' The other was from a secretary of an institution at which R. G. Moulton had lectured a few days before, who wrote: 'One of our members, a very intellectual man, but an agnostic, went out the next day and bought several volumes of the *Modern Reader's Bible* and has been reading it with great delight.' The history of the success of this presentation of the Bible, which will ever be so closely associated with his name, affords a striking illustration of the power of that Book to bring home its own message; and although nothing in the nature of evangelism came within the scope of his activities, there is no room for doubt that by his presentation of the Bible he did bring into a new relationship to the claims of God many men and women who would not have been reached by the normal appeal of the evangelist.

By such a worker, of course, the amount of pure 'holiday' taken during the summers, whether in England or America, was not large. The investigation and exposition of the study of literature, as he conceived it, was continually being advanced in one way or another. Opportunities for literary evangelism were many, but it

was necessary to limit the use of these in order to safeguard the time for private study. Invitations to take part in Summer Meetings at Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh were gladly accepted when any of the topics upon which he was accustomed to lecture would fit in with the general subject selected for the whole meeting. He was also sometimes found at ' Summer Schools ' of American Universities, and at ' chautauquas '—especially at the original Chautauqua in the State of New York, where in the course of years Bishop Vincent and his son, President George E. Vincent (now President of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York) gave him opportunities which he greatly valued. With reference to short ' campaigns ' and single lectures, I find that the English engagements for the arrangement of which I myself was responsible amounted to a very considerable number. Among these were the return visits he always loved to pay to his old fields of University Extension activity. Pre-eminent among these was Newcastle-on-Tyne ; and that notable centre of intellectual stimulus, which is officially styled the Literary and Philosophical Institution, but is far more often known among its devotees by the affectionate and intimate designation ' the Lit. and Phil.,' was the sphere of some of his most successful work for the movement. The building in which his regular Extension courses had been given was burnt down in 1893, but the ideals for which it stood were fireproof, and in new premises, and to a large degree from a new constituency, R. G. Moulton continued in later years to receive the same welcome and draw the same overflowing audiences as before. I usually arranged that he should take the Sunday at Brunswick Chapel with Bible lectures, and the Lit. and Phil. with other Literature lectures for two or three evenings in the week : and, as a rule, both buildings were packed to the doors. Another sphere to which he was wont

to return year after year was the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where Dr. Henry Guppy was always wishful to include him in his programme of lectures for the winter and spring, and where, perhaps more than anywhere else, he was likely to be listened to by those who possessed a specialized knowledge of the subjects with which he dealt. A very considerable proportion of his lectures during these English visits were on aspects of the literary study of the Bible, and there was never any difficulty in finding those who were only too glad to open their pulpits to him for his unusual but pre-eminently attractive and fruitful presentation of Biblical literature. One such visit calls for special notice on personal grounds. Reference has already been made to his having been born in Preston, and, as I was stationed in that town from 1907 to 1910, I arranged with him that he should come for a week of lectures in 1909. Not the least interesting feature of the visit was the lecture on Saturday evening in Lune Street Chapel, when he dealt with 'The Bible—A Book, a Library, a Literature.' It was there that he had been christened just sixty years before; and although he had given University Extension lectures in Preston, it had been prior to his taking up the literary study of the Bible, and therefore he had never occupied the pulpit before. It was fitting that the chair should have been taken on that evening by his elder brother, Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton, as he then was; and it was also interesting that among those on the platform was Sir William Ascroft, who, nearly thirty years before, had been chairman of the committee for the working of the University Extension lectures. The event aroused a considerable degree of interest in Preston, and the *Guardian* gave nearly a page to an illustrated article on the former Lune Street pastor and his four outstanding sons.

The War necessarily interfered greatly with his English

visits, so far as such fields as the Universities and the Summer Meetings were concerned. He came as usual in 1915 and 1916, but was obliged to remain in America in 1917 and 1918. In those—his last two years before retiring—he did full-time work in the University. At times during the continuance of the War, while in no case undertaking anything in the nature of ' propaganda work,' he would, when specially requested, give addresses designed to help in interpreting the two great English-speaking peoples to each other, in the interests of mutual understanding and helpfulness. Such organizations as ' Luncheon Clubs '—of very varied membership—furnished the chief occasions for these talks. But, also in response to a demand, a new lecture or course title appears on his list : ' The Bible as a Document of Internationalism.' In these lectures, through the purely literary interpretation of the great Book, his hearers found themselves helped to a larger view of the whole subject and clearer thinking on the immediate questions which filled the minds of all.

Before leaving the matter of his English visits there is one more that calls for notice. In August 1896, in the old Norfolk Street Chapel, Sheffield—which stood on the site now occupied by the Victoria Hall—R. G. Moulton was united in matrimony to Alice Maud Cole, youngest surviving daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Skelton Cole. Their home had meant much to him ever since he first gave lectures in Sheffield in 1875. Mr. Skelton Cole was among the leaders in educational matters in Sheffield. He was a very active member of the School Board from the first, and was largely concerned in the organization of the ' Central School '—the first of its kind in England—which was to provide a connecting link between the education given in the Primary Elementary Schools and that higher education which had recently been made

possible in Sheffield through the establishment of Firth College. This College, which ultimately developed into the University of Sheffield, was the direct outcome of the University Extension Movement. Mr. Skelton Cole was a trustee of Firth College from its foundation, and treasurer of the Technical School, in which he was always keenly interested ; and other educational institutions in the town also received much of his time and thought. With so active an interest in all these developing educational schemes, it is easy to understand that there was much in common between him and R. G. Moulton, in whose thought also the organization of education was very prominent. Besides this there was great sympathy with the literary projects and ideas of the younger man on the part of both Mr. Skelton Cole and his wife, the personality and intellectual discernment of Mrs. Skelton Cole especially always counting for much to R. G. Moulton. A unique place in the family life soon became his, there being many tastes in common, and the carrying forward of these associations into his later life through his marriage was always a source of deep satisfaction to him. About the happy married life which thus began, and lasted for twenty-eight years, those most intimately concerned would desire that nothing be said. Let it suffice if I say that a community of taste as well as of affection made them comrades in the fullest sense, each able and eager to enter into the work and recreation of the other. Nowhere was that more manifest than in the field of music. Miss Maud Cole came of a musical family, and had been under inspiring teachers—amongst them for a time that brilliant and discerning pianist, Mr. Frederick Dawson—and an insight into the technique of piano playing was added to a spirit of musical appreciation and understanding. It followed that throughout their married life R. G. Moulton and his wife ever found in music the richest enjoyment and

the completest recreation. They availed themselves of the great musical opportunities of Chicago as far as professional work would permit. However exacting were the demands upon his time and energies, from October to April a determined effort was made—not always successful—to keep free on Friday afternoon and Saturday evening in order to attend the concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which was for years known by the name of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, after the great conductor who gave the orchestra its outstanding place in the musical life of America. The same programme—always most carefully planned—was given at these two performances in the week, thus enabling those who attended both concerts to obtain what amounted to much more than double the mental grasp of new or intricate musical works. In performances of the Grand Opera Season, which also became one of the important institutions of Chicago, he was occasionally able to enjoy anew the experiences of Dresden, Baireuth, and other places; but pure orchestral music, magnificently rendered as by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, remained his greatest musical interest. Tracing related principles underlying form and development in both music and literature, he found a grasp of the one of great assistance in the interpretation of the other, and while listening to a great musical work would not infrequently see quite suddenly the solution of some literary puzzle. How much all this meant to him during the Chicago years, and how the value of such support was recognized, is shown by the fact that he was requested to give the In Memoriam address at a Congregational Church in the University neighbourhood on the occasion of the great conductor's death in January, 1905. That address is so revealing in respect of the speaker as well as of the subject of his appreciation that it may fittingly find a place in these pages :

A great citizen of Chicago has passed from among us : I am inclined to say, the greatest of our fellow-citizens, for can we show any name that has such currency throughout the whole intellectual world as the name of Theodore Thomas? The mourning inseparable from the first announcement of death is over ; we are here to-day, not to bewail a lost presence, but rather to inaugurate an eternal memory. It was a great presence while it was with us. To many thousands of Chicago people during the last thirteen years no single figure has been more familiar than that of the stately conductor at his desk, dignified in its combined energy and restraint. Those of us who knew Theodore Thomas in private life found a personality genial and cheery, rejoicing in sympathy and good fellowship. We knew at the same time that this was the surface aspect of a character deeply based in severity, catholicity, reverence. In severity : the severity of the scholar, intolerant of imperfection, refusing all compromise with the second best, that has no arithmetic with which to measure trouble against attainment, that could afford to wait for appreciation. In catholicity : for while the leader admitted—what every man has a right to admit—strong predilections and preferences, yet the composers who were least his favourites never received from their own devotees such splendid justice as was rendered them in the programmes and performances of the Chicago Orchestra. And I add reverence, as the real basis in Theodore Thomas of his absolute fidelity of interpretation, as rigorously inductive as physical science, that saw only the musical truth before him, disdaining modifications in the interest of sensation or novelty.

Such high ideals Theodore Thomas carried through every phase of a musical life ; beginning with the simpler rôle of the virtuoso, passing on to the complex tasks of direction and management ; the private soldier developing into the leader, and the strategist of musical enterprise. And in this case great powers were not

hampered by unfavourable surroundings. It was given to Theodore Thomas to see his life-work accomplished, reaching the goal he had himself indicated ; that most remarkable endorsement of art triumph by democracy when the poor man's mite and the thousands of the millionaire co-operated to build the material home that should make the highest art practicable. His life achieved all this and then closed. He just touched the threescore and ten, he just touched his crowning success, and then passed away, in the moment of attainment, in the fulness of mastery, without a hint of diminishing vigour : a career that from the very first had steadily moved with ever widening and brightening development to its full height. ' The path of the just is as the light of Dawn, shining more and more unto the perfect Day.'

The address continues with a striking comparison between the Chicago Orchestra and the University :

A University has two distinct functions. On the one hand it is a congregation of specialists, pursuing their several studies and training new specialists to succeed them. Its second function is to awaken culture in others : not only does it train the young entrusted to it, but it seeks to *extend* its influence outside, in fostering culture amongst the busy men and women who have other occupations than that of learning. Now the Chicago Orchestra is a band of musical scholars ; the least of them an expert, while its leaders are finished scholars in their own lines, covering the whole range of some side of music and enlarging it. All of these would testify to the great inspiration they have received from their leader. But it was specially distinctive of Theodore Thomas that he realized so strongly the other University function, the training not of performers in technique but of the audience in appreciation. With his carefully planned programmes, representing the many-sidedness and the regular development of music, the frequent

repetitions of the newer or more notable compositions, and, above all, the lucid and inspiring performance, it has been possible for a whole generation of adults to feel that they were continuing their education after they had left school. I always point to the work of the Chicago Orchestra as the most successful example of a University Extension Movement.

And the field in which all this work has been accomplished is Music—the one characteristic art of our modern world. I hear a great deal of talk about Art with which I can feel no sympathy : a narrow-visioned pessimism that finds comfort in deploring modern Philistinism, and invidiously compares some commerce-ridden Chicago with some artistic Athens of old. When I study ancient Greece, I seem to see—once you strip off surface accidents—a world very much resembling our own world. To contemporary observers Athens seemed a gossiping society ever in search of novelty ; its comic poets satirize just what our satirists attack : its public life is seen as a struggle of self-interest and corruption against patriotic ideals, just as with us. But—it is answered—look at Athens itself, a city of architectural masterpieces, with miracles of inimitable statuary : what have we to compare with this ? Nothing of the same kind. But when we turn to Music, the case is reversed ; here it is we who are the giants and the ancient world the pigmies. Modern music is linked with mechanism, of all things the most progressive ; the same mechanical advance which has built locomotives and engineered ocean canals has steadily developed the instruments of the musical orchestra, and each invention of the instrument has enlarged the capacity of musical thought. Nor is this all. In architecture and sculpture the ideal and its realization are accomplished together, and further time can do nothing but deface. Music divides creative honours between the composer and the performer ; when the composer has once for all made his creation, a field of

not less artistic possibilities opens for the performer, in approaching nearer and nearer to a realization of the ideal, that for ever remains unattained. Theodore Thomas, I presume, could not have written the Fifth Symphony : but I doubt if Beethoven or Tschaikowsky had the organizing and directing powers that could attain such a realization of their own masterpieces as we have been privileged to hear from our own Chicago Orchestra. Thus the greatness which our leader achieved for himself is a greatness in just that which makes us great, which finds for Chicago and our modern times even in the field of art a place beside the greatness of the past.

The sacred associations of the place in which I speak make it fitting that I should add, this same music is the most religious of all the arts, the closest counterpart of our modern religion, which draws together all peoples, nations and tongues into one deep harmony under one Supreme Leader ; even as in the music of Theodore Thomas, German and French, Slav and Russian, Italian and Norse, Bohemian and Hungarian, their national characteristics not effaced but emphasized, blended together in one symphony of common appreciation and joy. It has been a grand life, that was permitted to consecrate high powers to the advancement of its day and generation, in an art which is the distinctive glory of modern times, the art which is the united world's worship of the Divine as it is revealed in the form of beauty.

It was in the full tide of work, achievement, and appreciation of all that life brings, that the time drew near when, under the rules of the University, R. G. Moulton would have to retire under the age-limit. Perhaps on the whole it may be said that this age-limit regulation intervened as a providential means of affording an exit from a work which

he loved, but the strenuousness of which he would have been loth to abate under the force of anything short of sheer compulsion.

It was on June 10, 1919, that he bade farewell to the sphere of his labours for the previous twenty-seven years, to the University which he had seen grow up from very small beginnings. In a record of the annual enrolment of students we find that in the first academic year (1892–3) the total number was 744. In 1918–9—his last year before retiring—8,635 were registered, this number being, however, almost 2,000 fewer than in 1916–17, which was the last year preceding the entry of the United States into the Great War.[1] This is a remarkable record for a teacher to see during his period of service, and it must have been with deep emotion that he delivered the oration on that day in June, 1919. He chose as his theme ' The Turning-point in the History of Culture '—which he discerned in the meeting of Hellenic and Hebraic. It was a favourite field of his, and much of what he said was what might have been expected of him, judging from the trend of his books. But its concluding words constitute an *apologia pro vitâ suâ*, and as such I quote them :

> You will perhaps say that all this is an individual interpretation of things, biased by the literary professor's wish to exalt literature as the natural food of culture, with special readings of disputed questions. Very likely you may be right. But what you have been hearing this afternoon is not a Doctor's thesis, to be controversially defended against the cross-examination of a committee of specialists. Take it rather as the last speech and confession of a teacher retiring from active service after a fifty-year job and leaving the field to

[1] By 1924, when R. G. Moulton had been ' Professor Emeritus' for five years, the total number of students had risen to about 13,000, partly through the full consolidation with the University proper of the Medical School, which had hitherto been ' affiliated.'

others ; leaving it to colleagues brilliantly equipped in their several fields and with years of distinguished service ahead of them ; leaving it to you, young men and women, who are this day to put on your academic armour with which to face the problems of the future. I have simply been putting to you what the situation looks like to me as I retire. A great saying of Bacon comes to me as I sum up—itself an echo from biblical wisdom. ' Take your stand upon the paths of antiquity ' —but the sentence does not end there—' in order to see clearly in what directions you shall make your progress.' In the chronic difficulty of reading correctly the past and present, in the special perplexity today of speculating upon the future, you have one safe clue if you recognize the foundation of our civilization as resting on the meeting of Hellenic and Hebraic, if by granting in education equal play to classical and biblical literature you maintain the sanity of our modern culture.[1]

[1] Printed in the *University of Chicago Record*, July 1919, p. 207.

CHAPTER VIII.

Eventide

There was no question of balancing relative advantages as to possible places for retirement, since that had been settled for years. In 1912 Mrs. Moulton's two sisters and one of her brothers had removed from Sheffield to Tunbridge Wells ; and in the new *ménage* it was arranged that ' the Americans ' should share the house as their base when on visits to England, and as their ultimate home when the time came for retirement. So it was at Hallamleigh that a radiant and fruitful eventide of five years was passed. R. G. Moulton's life-passion was strong to the end, and both by voice and pen he continued to spread abroad his message. Considerable work was done towards the preparation of ' studies ' which he had always hoped to publish, dealing with particular literary masterpieces. To this period belongs also the production of *The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools* (the New Testament in 1920 and the Old Testament in 1922), and of that tasteful little volume which bears the designation ' Twenty-fifth and final volume of *The Modern Reader's Bible*,' and is entitled ' How to Read the Bible.' It was an appropriate subject for his last published volume. He lectured for the London, Cambridge, and Oxford Universities' Extension Boards in London, Hastings, Cambridge, Tunbridge Wells, and other places within manageable distance from his home. He was a yearly visitor to the John Rylands Library at Manchester. Moreover, he would make short

lecture tours which I arranged in the North of England, visiting especially the scenes of his early labours. Although the generation which had belonged to that earlier life of lecturing in England had to a great extent passed away, in his seventies he proved the same attraction as he had been in his thirties. In particular he was glad to take as many as possible of the numerous opportunities afforded for furthering the understanding of the Bible by his lectures and interpretative recitals—this being a new field of service since his earlier University Extension years. Public work was interrupted in November 1920 by a severe illness which put a stop to all lecturing for many months, but a marvellous recovery made possible a resumption of some of his activities, although with considerable limitation of travelling.

In July 1923, the Jubilee of the Cambridge University Extension was celebrated with a Conference in which he took part. On that occasion he was one of three upon whom the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred at a Congregation presided over by the Vice-Chancellor (Dr Pearce, Master of Corpus Christi College) in the absence through illness of the Chancellor, the Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, and a Vice-President of the Shakespeare Reading Society.

Early in 1924 a course of lectures on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was given at Tunbridge Wells on the invitation of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, this completing his fiftieth season of public educational work. Arrangements had been made for lectures at the Cambridge Summer Meeting and for courses under both Oxford and Cambridge University Extension in the following autumn. But in April serious symptoms manifested themselves, and all engagements for subsequent months had to be cancelled. On Sunday, April 27, in the Church of St.

Edward the King, Cambridge—the church of Frederick Denison Maurice—he spoke in public for the last time. He had chosen for his subject the ninetieth and ninety-first Psalms, always treated by him together as being expansions of two lines from the Blessing of Moses :

> The eternal God is thy dwelling-place,
> And underneath are the everlasting arms.

There could have been no more fitting theme for a last public utterance ; and there was no suggestion of failing strength that morning. But his condition was more critical than he or others knew at the moment.

A three months' fight against increasing physical weakness was of no avail, and the end—hastened by pneumonia—came on August 15, 1924.

The following day a telegram was received from Dr. E. D. Burton, then President of the University of Chicago, who happened to be in England, asking to make an appointment. The only reply to be given was that his old friend and colleague had passed away the day before : and when he came to Tunbridge Wells it was to pay the last tribute for himself and the University at the funeral service.

How R. G. Moulton was regarded by those who were his colleagues is shown by the appreciation contributed to the *University Record* by Vice-President Tufts when the news of his death reached Chicago :

> It does not seem long since Professor Moulton was among us, a figure both scholarly and genial, a man whose enthusiasm kindled a like spirit in all his associates, and whose influence even among the youngest students among whom he worked was unique. Coming from England, where his first notable successes were achieved, he brought to America and to the University of Chicago

the essence of British scholarly tradition. He brought also a generous conception of education for the community and a body of well-tempered methods, which made him from the outset a distinctive figure. He was an innovator. As such he assumed a rightful place at a time when pioneers in education were establishing the reputation of the University. At our University he has left no successor in the extra-mural field.

. . . When the University of Chicago opened its doors in 1892 he was elected Professor of Literature in English. As he interpreted the function of his chair it was to present the great classics of the world's literature, particularly those which have found such fitting translation into English as makes them in a sense a part of English literature. Deuteronomy, Job, and the Greek tragedies lived again in his presentations. In 1901 the title of his chair was changed to that of Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation, but there was no fundamental change in his message. His selection was one of the most fortunate instances of the far-seeing vision of President Harper.

From the year of his appointment until his retirement from active service here, Richard Green Moulton toiled as few men have toiled to bring to a public far beyond the University quadrangles his message of the beauty of literature and the beauty of religion. He taught classes, many of them undergraduate classes, in which the works of Shakespeare were illuminated in a new way for young students ; he travelled far and wide, lecturing to large, popular audiences ; he wrote book after book. He worked without sparing his strength. His voice and pen were never idle, and both were at the service of the University and of the people throughout the years. . . .

So passed a great scholar and teacher.

From among the many striking tributes by former students I select that of an American journalist, who on

hearing of his death wrote from Paris a letter to *The Times* containing the following appreciation :

> England has had few Ambassadors in America who exerted a finer influence than Professor Richard Green Moulton, of whose death I have just read in *The Times*. This remarkable man carried a human and intellectual richness that made him a potent force. As a young journalist I attended his lectures at the University of Chicago, and knew him well. The memory of the association is a beautiful one. Professor Moulton was a great scholar, teacher, and interpreter, and he was also a great human being. The spirit he radiated made him beloved by all with whom he came in contact.

This reiteration of the word ' human ' is to be noted ; for it tells of one who never lost the note of the ' man ' in the preoccupations of the ' scholar.' Earlier in these pages it has been said that in contemplation of the man and his work the impression is produced of a singularly harmonious whole, and reference has also been made to the philosophical bent of his mind. The suggestion that ' philosophy is only a fine word for seeing things in perspective ' is significant in connexion with his continual insistence upon the idea of correct *perspective* in literary study, in education and in life as a whole. There is unusual evidence that the intellectual and educational work which R. G. Moulton at the age of thirty set himself was—with all its enlarging possibilities—kept steadily before him as a life object, his own developing powers and opportunities being constantly brought into adjustment with it. Having begun his career with this high ideal of ' service to the passing generation,' he had been fortunate in finding a place among the early University Extension lecturers, with what were at that time exceptional opportunities for coming into contact with the minds and lives of all classes—the cultured and the uneducated ;

those with much leisure for intellectual pursuits, and those with very little—all brought together by the common desire to ' get understanding.' In this developing movement and the method of teaching evolved within it he saw a most important advance towards bridging ' the chasm between the thinkers and the rest of the world,' and his personal powers of interpretation and presentation were cultivated and kept at their best, so as to enable him to take his part in that task. But still more important to him was the subject he had chosen to present, which he regarded as a universal medium for that larger ' study of life ' than is possible in the experience of one individual, one nation or one age, and which is the best corrective for over-specialization. There was the ever-deepening conviction that through literature the individual is best able to gain ' imaginative knowledge—an immediate, constant, and pressing necessity as spiritual nourishment by which the higher self is evolved,' and that through a right use of literature might be found the surest means of moral progress.

But this *study* of literature was in a chaotic state, and recognition of the need for scientific method must be obtained. The thought of all the ages, so far as it is embodied in literature, should be made accessible to all, and stress should be laid upon the understanding of literary form as a first essential to accuracy of interpretation. The love of literature—beauty of thought and beauty of expression—must, of course, be encouraged, and every possible assistance must be available for the ' imperfectly literary.' Along lines which would help towards such ends his whole life work was carried out. The extent to which he was able to record results in books, and the relation of his seven larger works to the object he had in view is outlined by himself in the *Preface* to *The Modern Study of Literature.*

It has always been my ambition to make some contribution toward the shaping of this study of literature, which by tradition is so miscellaneous and unorganized. Previous works of mine have been preliminary studies; discussion of particular principles in application to special literary fields. The most obvious defect of the study is the absence of any instinct for inductive observation, such as must be the basis for criticism of any other kind. My first book was an attempt to illustrate such scientific criticism in the most delightful of all literary provinces, the plays of Shakespeare. This *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* was, at a later period, supplemented by *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker*, which discussed the philosophy of life underlying the dramatic stories, and illustrated the general principle that fiction is the experimental side of human philosophy. Again: the traditional study, while rightly recognizing the Greek and Latin classics as a foundation for literary culture, has in practice sacrificed the literary for the linguistic element in these classics. My second book sought to introduce *The Ancient Classical Drama* to the English reader, and to use this as a study of literary evolution. But there is another defect in our traditional study of literature which is appalling in its gravity—the omission of the Bible. It is not only the spiritual loss to academic education; the literary forms of the Hebrew classics, rich in themselves, and the natural corrective to the purely Greek criticism founded by Aristotle, have been entirely effaced under the mediæval arrangement of the Bible in chapters and verses which is still retained in current versions. My third work was on *The Literary Study of the Bible: An Account of the Literary Forms Represented in the Sacred Writings*; and, following this, twelve years of my life were occupied with editing *The Modern Reader's Bible*, and the investigation of literary structure which this involved. My last work was an attempt to grasp the whole field of literature, not as an aggregation of particular literatures, but in the

conception of *World Literature*, as seen in perspective from the English point of view. In succession to these separate studies the present book seeks to arrive at a synthetic view of the theory and interpretation of literature.

This book has been planned to give some account of the work of one who, together with a strong feeling for the higher needs of humanity, had a clear and ever-enlarging perception of a progressive means of meeting them. Throughout his life R. G. Moulton devoted all his powers to the attempt to pass on to others whatever of insight he himself gained, encouraging receptiveness, removing hindrances, and opening and pointing the way for all—as he saw it—of a truly ' liberal education ' of mind and soul. Gladly receiving much vision of truth and beauty, he gave freely of his best to all.

APPENDIX I.

SYLLABUS OF LECTURE GIVEN AT BELPER ON THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT. (See p. 30).

[*As far as possible there are represented here the typographical variations as they appear in his syllabus—a matter concerning which he was most particular.*]

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

IDEA OF THE MOVEMENT: UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR THE WHOLE NATION ON VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLES.

University Extension implies

1. Higher Education: not necessarily in the sense of high subjects, but as distinguished from
   - *a.* School Education, which is for the young:
   - *b.* Technical and Professional Education, which trains directly for the business of life. Higher Education looks equally, or more, to its leisure.

2. The teaching (as well as examining) under the direction of the University.

   Higher Education depends more on the manner in which the instruction has been given than on the amount of actual knowledge acquired.

   The Idea embodied in Practical Institutions.

The University Extension Movement is a Joint Movement of

The UNIVERSITIES: supplying the EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

The TOWNS: „ LOCAL ORGANIZATION and FUNDS.

I.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AS A METHOD OF EDUCATION.

1. Only a small fraction of the nation can go up to the University towns to obtain the great educational advantages of Residence—for the great masses the University agencies must go out to the Towns.

2. If the organization is to reach the whole nation it must be such as will be applicable to *all classes of society* without distinction. For teaching purposes all such varieties resolve themselves into two:

Public AUDIENCES as composite in character as the congregation of a church or chapel: for these the Movement provides connected COURSES OF LECTURES —an advance, educationally, on disconnected lectures.

In each Audience a nucleus of STUDENTS: for these are provided (i) WEEKLY EXERCISES on the subjects of the Lecture, to be done at home and sent to the Lecturer for written comment. (ii) A second meeting usually called the CLASS, before or after the following Lecture, at which explanations are given by the Lecturer, such as arise out of the Exercises sent in; discussion also is invited. (iii) CERTIFICATES by the University for the work of each term.

This union of the Class for the Students, including Weekly Exercises and Certificates, with Lectures for popular Audiences, is the distinctive feature of the movement—thus it will be seen that *the University Extension Movement does not come into competition with organizations for providing Popular Lectures*—its lectures being indeed the lesser half of the operations.

3. If the scheme is to be applied universally the Education must be so arranged that it can be taken in various *amounts*. The UNIT of the movement is a single Term's course (3 months) of lectures and Classes as described above.

4. As large numbers of the Students will be working under difficulties, it is especially incumbent on the movement to pioneer in the latest improvements of educational method.

(a) The SUBJECTS must be such as have already established their hold on the popular mind, not those of academic interest only. . . .

(b) Every Course of Lectures should have its own text-book : this is secured by means of the SYLLABUS, a cheap pamphlet which sketches the order and plan of the teaching, and refers to existing books for the detailed matter.

(c) CERTIFICATES should have the effect of assisting the teacher by examinations, not of subordinating the teacher to examinations.

The University grants the Certificates for each Course upon a DOUBLE test : (1) The Lecturer's Report of the Weekly Exercises : (2) a Special Examiner's Report of an Examination at the end of the Course.

The effect of this system is : (a) The Certificates have a unique value as indicating not only the passing an examination but also a regular course of study followed out under the supervision of the University. (b) Scope is given to both types of minds, those who can do themselves justice in examinations, and those who can do thoughtful and original work at home. (c) The very questionable principle of competitive examination is entirely discarded. (d) The whole system will be seen to be purely voluntary : it exercises influence, not pressure, and the profit any student derives from it depends upon himself.

II.

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT AIMS AT SECURING, IN COMBINATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES, A COMPLETE LADDER OF EDUCATION, FROM THE PRIMARY SCHOOL TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1. The three kinds of education, School, Technical, and Higher, are in Continental systems under direction of the

State and organized into a complete scheme. In England the State accepts responsibility only for single sections of educational work, and the organization of the national Education as a whole can be arrived at only by gradual and combined effort.

2. A leading feature of our English system is the LOCAL COLLEGE, as a centre of Technical and Higher Education, such as those already springing up in the larger towns. . . . Colleges may under certain conditions be *affiliated* to Oxford and Cambridge, thereby shortening the term of residence in the University itself.[1]

3. The University Extension Movement does not enter into competition with this or any other existing agency, but seeks to fill up the intervals which existing agencies leave unsupplied in the idea of a complete scheme of national education. It may thus be described as a sort of FLOATING UNIVERSITY for the whole country, each locality organizing itself and availing itself of the education supplied by the movement to whatever extent its demands and funds warrant.

III.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AS A LOCAL INSTITUTION.

1. The movement was started on the invitation of the Towns to the Universities: in the steps of its further development the Towns have taken at least an equal part: in some places it has already developed into complete Local Colleges.

2. The object is to secure the establishment in every town of LOCAL BRANCHES, working in connexion with the Universities. In some places existing local Institutes have taken up the Movement and carried it on as a part of their own work: more often a special 'University Extension Society' has been formed for the purpose.

[1] It must be remembered that this Syllabus belongs to 1885; in the intervening years a number of these Local Colleges have matured into Universities themselves. But this paragraph is left as it was written, so as to mark the nature and extent of the development.

3. The points to be observed in organizing such a local branch are :

(a) PERMANENCE. It is contrary to the spirit of the whole movement to leave the courses to be got up by fresh enterprise each year.

(b) A POPULAR BASIS. Where a special society is formed, its basis should be wide enough to encourage the actual attendants at Lectures and Classes to enter it. The movement is one of Self-Education : it is part of its conception to bring the masses to realize that the carrying on of Higher Education is an interest of their own. Care should be taken to avoid anything that might be misinterpreted as indicating political or sectarian bias.

(c) The MISSIONARY character of the movement. It seeks not only to supply Higher Education, but also to stimulate the demand for it.

APPENDIX II.

THE DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OFFICERS OF INSTRUCTION.

A. Instructors attached to the Department of General Literature:

Richard Green Moulton, Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation and Head of the Department of General Literature.

George Carter Howland, A.M., Associate Professor of the History of Literature.

B. Instructors in other Departments offering courses in this Department. [List averaging about twenty names: see courses mentioned below.]

The Heads and acting Heads of Departments VIII–XVI[1] compose the Committee of Management for Department XVI.

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

[The following detailed list is taken from the announcements for the years 1912–13 and 1913–14. About 35 courses would be available in each year.]

I. Courses in General Literature.

Note.—These are (unless otherwise stated) Senior College courses; but usually students may, with the approval of the instructor, obtain graduate credit by doing additional work.

1. World Literature for English Readers.—This course surveys the whole field of literature so far as this has entered into the culture of the English-speaking peoples. It is

[1] All the Language and Literature Departments.

designed to lay a foundation for intelligent reading in the future, partly by the presentation of illustrative masterpieces, and partly by seeking a rational scheme for selection of the 'best books.' [Richard Green Moulton, Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation and Head of the Department of General Literature.]

2. Literary Study of the (English) Bible.—Avoiding questions of theology and historic criticism this course will elucidate the conception of the Bible as one of the leading literatures of the world. *Open to the Junior Colleges.* [Professor Moulton.]

3b. Ancient Epic and Tragedy for English Readers.—A rapid reading-course in Ancient Classical Epic and Tragedy, centring chiefly around the topic of the Trojan War. [Professor Moulton.]

5. Dante in English.—Readings in Dante's works, expecially *The Divine Comedy.* [George Carter Howland, A.M., Associate Professor of the History of Literature,—of the Department of General Literature.]

6. The Story of Faust.—Goethe's *Faust* (in English), in comparison with the treatment of the same story in English and Spanish literature, and in music. [Associate Professor Howland.]

10. Dramatists of the Present Day.—A study of the most significant authors and movements at the present day in continental Europe. [Associate Professor Howland.]

11. The Short Story in Contemporary European Literature. [Associate Professor Howland.]

14. The Contemporary European Novel.—The Principal living novelists of Continental Europe will be studied with reference to their place in world literature. [Associate Professor Howland.]

18. Seneca: 'Tragedies.'—Three or four of the tragedies will be studied in detail, with especial reference to Seneca's style and dramatic art. The remaining tragedies will be read rapidly in translations, with a study of their philosophical content, and a comparison with the corresponding Greek dramas on the same themes. [Frank Justus Miller, Ph.D.,

LL.D., Professor of Latin,—of the Department of the Latin Language and Literature.]

19. Ovid: 'Metamorphoses.'—The reading will be accompanied by a study of the use of classical mythology by representative English poets. [Professor Miller.]

20. The Greater French Essayists and Their Bearing upon the Essay in English Literature. [Associate Professor Howland.]

22. Modern Epic Poetry.—A study of the great epics in modern European literatures other than English. [Associate Professor Howland.]

23. Cervantes and His Contemporaries.—Studies in the classic Spanish novelists. [Associate Professor Howland.]

24. History of Sanskrit Literature.—The aim of this course is to give brief survey of the literature of India—a literature of no small intrinsic value, and one which offers much that is of interest to the occidental student. An effort will be made to gain some intelligent appreciation of the social and intellectual conditions under which this literature was produced, and to form some conception of its place in the literature and thought of the world. No knowledge of Sanskrit or Pali is necessary, but a large amount of reading in translations will be required. [Walter Eugene Clark, Ph.D., Instructor,—of the Department of Sanskrit and the Indo-European Comparative Philology.]

25. Ballad and Epic Poetry.—The English ballads will be studied in the complete collections of Child and Kittredge. *Beowulf* and the *Iliad* will be read in translation; other famous epics will be treated in lectures. [Albert Harris Tolman, Ph.D., Professor of English,—of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

26. Such courses as:

The Psalter. [Herbert Lockwood Willett, Ph.D., Associate Professor of the Old Testament Language and Literature, —of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures.]

Ezekiel.—A close study of the book and its exilic background. [Associate Professor Smith, Ph.D.,—of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures.]

28. Such courses as :

Beginnings of Old Testament Literature and History. [Associate Professor Willett.]

29. The Literature of the Early Orient.—A study of the rise of literary forms and the earliest development of literary art as seen in Egypt, Babylonia, and neighbouring nations. The earliest literature of entertainment, tales, romances, poetry, epics, drama, wisdom, mortuary, and religious compositions, scientific treatises, business and legal documents will be taken up, read in translation, analysed, and discussed. [James Henry Breasted, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History ; Director of Haskell Oriental Museum,—of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures.]

30. Primitive Christian Life and Literature.—General survey of the field of New Testament study ; consideration of the books of the New Testament as an expression of the religious life of the early Church ; assigned reading in the history of the apostolic age. [Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, D.B., Ph.D., Associate Professor,—of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek.]

31. The Gospel of Matthew in English.—Purpose, sources, date, and authorship of the book ; analysis of its contents ; interpretation on the basis of the Greek text and English translations, with particular attention to the discourse sections. [Ernest De Witt Burton, D.D., Professor and Head of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature.]

32. The Gospel of John in English.—Purpose, sources, date, and authorship of the book ; interpretation on the basis of the English text. [Shirley Jackson Case, D.B., Ph.D., Associate Professor of New Testament Interpretation,—of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek.]

33. The Epistles to the Corinthians in English.—Historical situation, including conditions of Church life in the Greco-Roman world ; analysis of the letters ; interpretation on the basis of the Greek text and English translations ; contribution of the letters to our knowledge of primitive Christianity. [Associate Professor Goodspeed.]

34. The Mediæval Drama.—The origins and the development of the mediæval religious drama. [John Matthews Manly, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

35, 36. History of the Novel.—From the Renaissance to the present day. (2 majors.) [Robert Morss Lovett, A.B., Professor of English,—of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

37. Homer.—Rapid reading and literary study of the *Iliad*. [Paul Shorey, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor and Head of the Department of the Greek Language and Literature.]

38. The History of Greek Comedy.—Detailed study of the *Knights* of Aristophanes; rapid reading of representative fragments of the Middle and the New Comedy; lectures on the development of comedy in Greece. [Henry Washington Prescott, Ph.D., Professor of Classical Philology,—of the Department of the Greek Language and Literature.]

39. American Literature.—A general survey. [Percy Holmes Boynton, A.M., Associate Professor of English,—of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

II. Courses in Theory of Literature.

Note.—These are graduate courses, but open to the Senior Colleges.

40. Foundation Principles of the Study of Literature.—The course is designed to bring out how traditional ideas of literary study are modified by (1) the recognition of the unity of all literature; (2) the application to literature of modern conceptions of evolution and inductive science. It is specially recommended for those who expect to teach, whether English or any other particular literature; also for Senior College students who will not have the opportunity of taking it as part of their graduate work. [Professor Moulton.]

41. Literary Criticism and Theory of Interpretation.—After taking as basis of its treatment a distinction between our leading types of criticism, the course will fall into two

parts : (1) A full exposition of the criticism of interpretation, illustrated in application to well-known masterpieces of literature ; (2) an attempt to formulate the leading problems of speculative criticism. [Professor Moulton.]

42. Studies in the Grammar of Poetic Art.—Familiar masterpieces of poetry will be taken up, not as regards their general interest or position in literary history, but with a view to obtaining materials for analysing the elements of poetic effect. The course will thus be concerned with such topics as plot, movement, and poetic architecture ; with imagery and symbolism ; with word-force and metrical mechanics, so far as these last are of literary and not merely linguistic significance. [Professor Moulton.]

45. Æsthetics.—An introduction to the history and theory of æsthetics. [James Hayden Tufts, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy.]

46. History of French Criticism, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [Edwin Preston Dargan, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of French Literature,—of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures.]

(or **46.**) **Le Classicisme.**—Les œuvres et la doctrine. Préciosité et naturalisme. Boileau, *L'Art poétique* (édition Brunetière) et *Les Héros de Roman* (édition T. F. Crane). [Henri Charles Edouard David, A.M., Assistant Professor of French Literature,—of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures.]

47. Life and Works of Corneille.—Origins of the classic drama and its relation to the ideas of Descartes. [William Albert Nitze, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures.]

(or **47.**) **La reaction contre le classicisme.**—Constitution de l'esprit philosophique. Les hommes de lettres philosophes. Roustan, *La Philosophie et la société française au XVIIIe siècle.* [Assistant Professor David.]

48. The Technique of the Drama.—A detailed and careful study of the technique of selected plays. [Robert Herrick, A.B., Professor of English,—of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

49. Studies in Romanticism in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century.—Criticism 1725–75. [William Darnall MacClintock, A.M., Professor of English,—of the Department of the English Language and Literature.]

Note.—Course 60 may be reckoned for Section II or Section III.

III. Courses in Comparative Literature.

Note.—These are graduate courses.

60. Types of Old French Literature.—The literary types of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; study of illustrative works. A reading knowledge of Old French is pre-requisite. [Professor Nitze.]

(or **60.**) **The Technique of the Latin Epic.**—Lectures on the characteristics and the development of the artistic epic in Latin literature, with special reference to Virgil's *Æneid*. Parallel readings in the *Æneid* (in Latin), and in the Homeric, Hellenistic, and later Latin epics (in translation). Short reports. [Professor Prescott.]

61. Germanic Mythology.—Vorlesungen mit Zugrundelegung von Mogk's Artikel in Paul's *Grundriss*. [Philip Schuyler Allen, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German Literature,—of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures.]

62. The Romantic School.—A systematic attempt to give an account of the development and gradual differentiation of the romantic *Weltanschauung* in the creative and theoretical works of the Romantic School. [Martin Schütze, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German Literature,—of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures.]

63. Wolfram's von Eschenbach 'Willehalm.'—A comparative study of the poem and its sources. [Starr Willard Cutting, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures.]

64. The Literary Relations between England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century.—The main subjects treated are Addison's *Spectator* and its numerous German imitations;

Milton's influence; the influence of English satire in Germany; the part Shakspere played in the old German drama and dramatic criticism, especially in the case of Lessing and the Storm and Stress; Pope, Young, Thompson, and Dryden; Ossian and Percy's *Reliques*; the *Robinsonaden*; the imitations of Sterne, Richardson, and Fielding; the countercurrent during the last two decades of the century, especially Bürger's *Lenore*, Schiller's *Räuber*, and Goethe. [Jacob Harold Heinzelmann, Ph.D., Professor of German, University of Manitoba.]

65. The German Court Epic: Hartmann von Aue.—A critical reading of his *Iwein* with reference to its Old French prototype. [Professor Cutting.]

See also Department XIV, 218: **German-American Literature.** (a) Indian and Emigrant Fiction; (b) German-American Poetry. [Preston Albert Barba, Ph.D., Instructor in German, Indiana University.]

APPENDIX III.

TITLES OF OTHER COURSES GIVEN BY PROFESSOR MOULTON IN THE UNIVERSITY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

General Literature: Its significance in the Philosophy of Education
The Story of Faust
The English Bible: Its Place in an Ordinary English Education
Modern Principles of the Study of Literature
Milton's Poetic Art
Milton's *Paradise Lost*
Miltonic Poetry and Biblical Prophecy
Dante and Milton
Biblical Interpretation
Homer and William Morris
Homer and Ancient Tragedy
Ancient Epic and Tragedy for English Readers
The *Odyssey* and the *Æneid*
From Homer to William Morris
William Morris as a Modern Homer
The Poetry of William Morris
The Ancient Classical Drama for Modern English Students
The Writings of William Morris as a Study of Epic Poetry
Homer and Virgil for English Readers
The New Study of Literature
Imagery and Symbolism
Wisdom Literature
Masterpieces of World Literature: An Introduction to General Reading
A Reading Course in the Ancient Classical Drama
Biblical Prophecy as a branch of World Literature

The Poetry and Philosophy of Milton's *Paradise Lost*
The Philosophy of Shakespeare
Shakespeare and the Ancient Classical Drama
The Lighter Plays of Shakespeare
Spenser's *Faerie Queene*: The Meeting Ground of Classic and Romantic

BOOKS BY RICHARD GREEN MOULTON.

Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist: A Popular Illustration of the Principles of Scientific Criticism. Third ed. Published by the Oxford University Press (price in England, 8/6 net ; in America, $2.85).

The Ancient Classical Drama: A Study in Literary Evolution. Intended for English Readers. Second ed. Published by the Oxford University Press (price in England, 7/6 net ; in America, $2.50).

Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker:[1] An Illustration of Fiction as the Experimental Side of Philosophy. Published by Macmillan (price in America, $2.00 ; in England, 8/6 net).

The Literary Study of the Bible: An Account of the Leading Forms of Literature Represented in the Sacred Writings. Second ed. ; in America : published by D. C. Heath & Co., price $2.80 ; in England : published by George G. Harrap & Co., price 10/6 net.

A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible. Published by D. C. Heath & Co. (price in America, $1.68 ; in England, 7/6 net).

The Modern Reader's Bible: Books of the Bible (including three books of the Apocrypha), edited in full literary structure : with copious introductions and notes. Issued in two different forms :

(1) Complete in one volume (1,733 pages), published by Macmillan (price in America : Cloth $2.50, leather $4.50, full limp Morocco $7.50, with coloured illustrations $5.00, full limp Morocco, divinity style $8.50 ; and in England, cloth 15/- net).

[1] Originally published under the title *The Moral System of Shakespeare.*

(2) In twenty-one small volumes, published by Macmillan ; volumes sold separately ; Genesis, Exodus —with Leviticus and Numbers, Deuteronomy, The Judges—with Joshua and Samuel (in part), The Kings—with Samuel (in part), The Chronicles—with Ezra and Nehemiah, The Psalms and Lamentations (two volumes), Biblical Idylls (one volume, containing Solomon's Song, Ruth, Esther, Tobit), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes and Wisdom of Solomon, Job, St. Matthew—with St. Mark and the General Epistles, St. Luke and St. Paul (two volumes, containing the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, with the Pauline Epistles, each inserted at its proper place in the narrative), St. John (the Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation). (Price in America : Cloth 80 cents per vol., leather $1.50 per vol., special sets cloth $16.00, special sets leather $30.00 ; price in England : Cloth 3/6 net per vol.)

Three additional small volumes, mainly intended for young people—Bible Stories (Old Testament), Bible Stories (New Testament), Masterpiece of Biblical Literature (prices in America : Cloth 80 cents per vol., leather $1.50 per vol. ; price in England : Cloth 3/6 net per vol., cheap edition cloth—Old Testament Stories 2/6, New Testament Stories 2/6).

How to Read the Bible. Incorporating *The Bible at a Single View.* Twenty-fifth and Final Volume of 'The Modern Reader's Bible.' (Price in America : Cloth 80 cents ; in England 3/6 net.)

The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools. A variation of the main work, abridged and specially designed for use in educational institutions, elementary or advanced. Two volumes, published by Macmillan : The Old Testament (price in America, $2.50 ; in England, 10/6 net), The New Testament (price in America : Cloth $2.25 ; in England, 10/6 net).

World Literature: and Its Place in General Culture. Published by Macmillan (price in America, $2; in England, 8/6 net).

The Modern Study of Literature: An Introduction to Literary Theory and Interpretation. Published by The University of Chicago Press (price in America, $3; in England [Agents: The Cambridge University Press], 15/- net).

92
Moulton, W.F. M863
Richard Green Moulton
92
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